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ETHAN ALLEN

AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY

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JARED SPARKS

E T H A N A L L E N

By

JARED SPARKS

W I L L I A M E L L E R Y

By

EDWARD T. CHANNING

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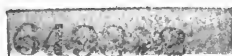
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LIFE
OF
ETHAN ALLEN
BY
JARED SPARKS



ETHAN ALLEN.

THE first settlement of Vermont, and the early struggles of the inhabitants not only in subduing a wilderness, but establishing an independent government, afford some of the most remarkable incidents in American history. When we now survey that flourishing State, presenting in all its parts populous towns and villages, and witness the high degree of culture to which it has attained, and which, under the most favored social organization, is usually the slow achievement of time, we can hardly realize that seventy years ago the whole region from the Connecticut River to Lake Champlain was a waste of forests, an asylum for wild beasts, and a barrier against the inroads of the savages upon the border settlers of the New England colonies. This change has been brought to pass in the first place by a bold and hardy enterprise, and an indomitable spirit of freedom, which have rarely been equalled; and afterwards by the steady perseverance of an enlightened and industrious population, deriving its

stock from the surrounding States, and increasing rapidly from its own resources. To the historian this is a fertile and attractive theme. By the biographer it can only be touched, as bearing on the deeds and character of the persons, who have been the principal actors in the train of events.

Among those, who were most conspicuous in laying the foundation upon which the independent State of Vermont has been reared, and indeed the leader and champion of that resolute band of husbandmen, who first planted themselves in the wilderness of the Green Mountains, was **ETHAN ALLEN**. He was a native of Connecticut, where his father and mother were likewise born, the former in Coventry, and the latter in Woodbury. Joseph Allen, the father, after his marriage with Mary Baker, resided in Litchfield, where it is believed that Ethan and one or two other children were born. The parents afterwards removed to Cornwall, where other children were born, making in all six sons and two daughters, Ethan, Heman, Heber, Levi, Zimri, Ira, Lydia, and Lucy. All the brothers grew up to manhood, and four or five of them emigrated to the territory west of the Green Mountains among the first settlers, and were prominent members of the social and political compacts into which the inhabitants gradually formed themselves. Bold, active, and enterprising, they es-

poused with zeal, and defended with energy, the cause of the settlers against what were deemed the encroaching schemes of their neighbors, and with a keen interest sustained their share in all the border contests. Four of them were engaged in the military operations of the Revolution, and by a hazardous and successful adventure at the breaking out of the war, in the capture of Ticonderoga, the name of Ethan Allen gained a renown, which spread widely at the time, and has been perpetuated in history.

But, before we proceed in our narrative, it is necessary to state a few particulars explanatory of what will follow. Among the causes of the controversies, which existed between the colonies in early times, and continued down to the Revolution, was the uncertainty of boundary lines as described in the old charters. Considering the ignorance of all parties, at the time the charters were granted, as to the extent and interior situation of the country, it was not surprising that limits should be vaguely defined, and that the boundaries of one colony should encroach upon those of another. A difficulty of this kind arose between the colony of New York and those of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. By the grant of King Charles the Second to his brother, the Duke of York, the tract of country called New York was bounded on the east by

Connecticut River, thus conflicting with the express letter of the Massachusetts and Connecticut charters, which extended those colonies westward to the South Sea, or Pacific Ocean. After a long controversy, kept up at times with a good deal of heat on both sides, the line of division between these colonies was fixed by mutual agreement at twenty miles east of Hudson's River, running nearly in a north and south direction. This line was adopted as a compromise between Connecticut and New York, upon the consideration that the Connecticut settlers had established themselves so far to the westward under patents from that colony, as to be within about twenty miles of the Hudson. The Massachusetts boundary was decided much later to be a continuation of the Connecticut line to the north, making the western limit of Massachusetts also twenty miles from the same river. This claim was supported mainly on the ground of the precedent in the case of Connecticut, and was long resisted by New York, as interfering with previous grants from that colony extending thirty miles eastward from the Hudson.*

* See *A State of the Right of the Colony of New York, with Respect to its Eastern Boundary on Connecticut River, &c.* pp. 5, 7.

Meantime New Hampshire had never been brought into the controversy, because the lands to the westward of that province beyond Connecticut River had been neither settled nor surveyed. There was indeed a small settlement at Fort Dummer on the western margin of the River, which was under the protection of Massachusetts, and supposed to be within that colony, till the dividing line between New Hampshire and Massachusetts was accurately run, when Fort Dummer was ascertained to be north of that line, and was afterwards considered as being within the jurisdiction of the sister colony. Such was the state of things when Benning Wentworth became governor of New Hampshire, with authority from the King to issue patents for unimproved lands within the limits of his province. Application was made for grants to the west of Connecticut River, and even beyond the Green Mountains, and in 1749 he gave a patent for a township six miles square, near the northwest angle of Massachusetts, to be so laid out, that its western limit should be twenty miles from the Hudson, and coincide with the boundary line of Connecticut and Massachusetts continued northward. This township was called Bennington.

Although the governor and council of New York remonstrated against this grant, and claimed for that colony the whole territory north of Mas-

sachusetts as far eastward as Connecticut River, yet Governor Wentworth was not deterred by this remonstrance from issuing other patents, urging in his justification, that New Hampshire had a right to the same extension westward as Massachusetts and Connecticut. Fourteen townships had been granted in 1754, when the French war broke out, and, by the peril it threatened on the frontiers, discouraged settlers from seeking a residence there, or vesting their property in lands, the title to which might be put in jeopardy, or their value destroyed, by the issue of the contest. Nor was it till the glorious victory of Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham had wrested Canada for ever from the French power, secured these border territories against all further invasion from an ancient foe, and opened the prospects of a speedy and lasting peace, that the spirit of enterprise, perhaps of adventure, combining with the hope of gain, revived a desire of possessing and settling these wild lands. Applications for new patents thronged daily upon Governor Wentworth, and within four years' time the whole number of townships granted by him, to the westward of Connecticut River, was one hundred and thirty-eight. The territory including these townships was known by the name of the *New Hampshire Grants*, which it retained till the opening of the Revolution, when its present name of *Vermont* began to be adopted.

At what time Ethan Allen and his brethren emigrated to the *Grants* is uncertain. It was not, however, till after the reduction of Canada, and probably not till the peace between England and France had been concluded. Meantime among the inhabitants of the New England colonies, a ready market had been found for the lands, and settlers were flocking over the mountains from various quarters. Many persons had passed through those lands on their way to the army in Canada, and become acquainted with their value. The easy terms upon which the townships had been patented by Governor Wentworth enabled the original purchasers to dispose of shares, and single farms, at very low prices, thus holding out strong allurements to settlers. Apprehensions as to the validity of the title must also have induced the first proprietors to prefer a quick sale, with small profits, to the uncertain prospect of larger gains at a future day. By this union of policy and interest the lands were rapidly sold, in tracts of various dimensions, to practical farmers, who resolved to establish themselves as permanent residents on the soil. Of this number were the Allens, who selected their lands in the township of Bennington, to which they removed in company with several other persons from Connecticut.

While these things were going on, the governor of New York did not remain an idle spectator

He wrote letters to the governor of New Hampshire protesting against his grants, and published proclamations declaring the Connecticut River to be the boundary between the two colonies. But neither proclamations nor remonstrances produced conviction in the mind of Governor Wentworth. He continued to issue his warrants ; a population of hardy yeomanry was daily increasing in the New Hampshire Grants ; a formidable power was taking root there, nurtured by the local feelings, united objects, and physical strength of the settlers ; and the government of New York thought it time to seek redress in a higher quarter, and appeal to the Crown as the ultimate arbiter in all controversies of this nature. Accordingly the matter was brought before the King in Council, and his Majesty decided by a royal decree, in the year 1764, that the Connecticut River was the dividing line between New York and New Hampshire. In this decision all parties seemed to acquiesce. Governor Wentworth granted no more patents on the west side of the river, and the settlers showed no symptoms of uneasiness, as the only difference made in their condition by the royal decree was, that they were now declared to be under the jurisdiction of New York, whereas they had hitherto regarded themselves as under that of New Hampshire ; but this change they did not contemplate as a grievance, presuming their property and civil

rights would be as well protected by the laws of the one colony as by those of the other.

But herein they soon discovered themselves to be in an error, and to differ widely in sentiment from their more astute neighbors. Men learned in the law and of high station in New York had made it appear, that jurisdiction meant the same thing as right of property ; and since his Majesty had decided Connecticut River to be the eastern limit of that province, the governor and council decreed, that all the lands west of the said river appertained to New York, however long they might have been in the possession of actual occupants. This was a strange doctrine to men, who had paid their money for the lands, and by their own toil added ten-fold or a hundred-fold to their value ; who had felled the forests by the strength of their sinews, and submitted for years to all the privations and discomforts of the woodsman's life. In a tone of just indignation they said to these new masters, we will obey your laws, but you shall not plunder us of the substance we have gained by the sweat of our brows. The New York government, however, in conformity with their interpretation of the royal decree, proceeded to grant patents covering the lands on which farms had been brought to an advanced state of culture, houses built, and orchards planted, by the original purchasers and settlers. It is true that to all such persons was

granted the privilege of taking out new patents, and securing a New York title, by paying the fees and other charges, which were greatly enhanced upon those paid at first to Governor Wentworth ; that is, in other words, they were allowed the right of purchasing their own property. This was a proposition perfectly comprehensible to the most illiterate husbandman. With a very few exceptions they refused to comply with it, alleging that they had bought their lands by a fair purchase, and had a just claim to a title, under whatever jurisdiction the King might think proper to place them ; that it was not their business to interfere with the controversies of the colonies about their respective boundaries, but it was their business, their duty, and their determination to retain and defend their lawful property. The case was aggravated by an order of the governor and council of New York, calling on all the claimants under the New Hampshire grants to appear before them, the said governor and council, with the deeds, conveyances, and other evidences of their claims within three months, and declaring that the claims of all persons not presented within that time should be rejected. This had no effect upon the settlers, and of course their titles were looked upon as forfeited, and the lands they occupied as being the property of the colony of New York.

It would seem, that certain speculators entered deeply into the affair, influenced more by the literal construction or ambiguous meaning of charters and royal decrees, than by the power of the settlers to support their claims, or the absolute justice of their cause. Hence repeated applications for large grants were made to the governor, which he was nowise inclined to refuse, since every new patent was attended with a liberal fee to himself. Foreseeing the mischiefs, that would result to them from this growing combination of powerful and interested individuals in New York, the settlers despatched one of their number to England as an agent in their behalf, instructed to lay their case before the King, and petition for relief. This mission was successful, so far as to obtain an order from the King in Council, July, 1767, commanding the governor of New York to abstain from issuing any more patents in the disputed territory, "upon pain of his Majesty's highest displeasure," till the intentions of the King on the subject should further be made known.

This decision, having only a prospective effect, did not annul the grants already bestowed, and the New York patentees resolved to gain possession of the lands by civil process. Writs of ejectment were taken out, and served on several of the actual occupants. In a few instances the officers were resisted by the people, and prevented from

serving the writs ; but, for the most part, the New Hampshire grantees inclined to meet their opponents on this ground, and refer the matter to a judicial tribunal. Ethan Allen, having already become a leader among them, by his zeal in opposing the New York party and by the boldness of his character, was appointed an agent to manage the concerns of the defendants before the court at Albany, to which the writs of ejectment had been returned. His first step was to proceed to New Hampshire, and obtain copies of Governor Wentworth's commission and instructions, by which he was authorized to grant the lands. He next went to Connecticut, and engaged the services of Mr. Ingersoll, an eminent counsellor of that day. When the time of trial arrived, these gentlemen appeared in Albany, and produced to the court the above papers, and also the original patents or grants to those persons on whom the writs of ejectment had been served. These papers were at once set aside, as having no weight in the case, since they presupposed that the boundary of New Hampshire reached to the west of Connecticut River a point not to be admitted by any New York court or jury. The verdict was of course given for the plaintiffs. Indeed the whole process was an idle piece of formality. It being the theoretical and practical doctrine of the New York government, that all Governor Wentworth's grants were

illegal, and many of the judges and lawyers being personally interested in the subsequent New York patents, a decision adverse to their declared opinion of the law, and to their private interests, was not to be expected. This was soon perceived by the people of the New Hampshire Grants, and no one of them again appeared in court, though sundry other cases of ejectment were brought up, and decided against the occupants. As all their grants stood on precisely the same footing, a precedent in one case would necessarily be followed in the others.

It is recorded, that after Allen retired from the court at Albany, two or three gentlemen interested in the New York grants called upon him, one of whom was the King's attorney-general for the colony, and advised him to go home and persuade his friends of the Green Mountains to make the best terms they could with their new landlords, intimating that their cause was now desperate, and reminding him of the proverb, that "*might often prevails against right.*" Neither admiring the delicacy of this sentiment, nor intimidated by the threat it held out, Allen replied, "*The gods of the valleys are not the gods of the hills.*" This laconic figure of speech he left to be interpreted by his visitors, adding only, when an explanation was asked by the King's attorney, that if he would

accompany him to Bennington the sense should be made clear.

The purpose of his mission being thus brought to a close, Mr. Allen returned and reported the particulars to his constituents. The news spread from habitation to habitation, and created a sudden and loud murmur of discontent among the people. Seeing, as they thought, the door of justice shut against them, and having tried in vain all the peaceable means of securing their rights, they resolved to appeal to the last arbiter of disputes. The inhabitants of Bennington immediately assembled, and came to a formal determination to defend their property by force, and to unite in resisting all encroachments upon the lands occupied by persons holding titles under the warrants granted by the governor of New Hampshire. This was a bold step; but it was promptly taken, and with a seeming determination to adhere to it at any hazard, and without regard to consequences. Nor was this decision changed or weakened by a proposition on the part of the New York patentees, made about this time, which allowed to each occupant a fee simple of his farm, at the same price for which the unoccupied lands in his neighborhood were sold. The first purchasers still insisted, that this was requiring them to pay twice for their lands, and that in any view the proposal was not just, inasmuch as the value of

the unoccupied lands depended mainly on the settlements, which had been made in their vicinity by the toil and at the expense of the original occupants. In short, the time for talking about charters, and boundaries, and courts of judicature was past, and the mountaineers were now fully bent on conducting the controversy by a more summary process. The wisdom or equity of this decision I shall forbear to discuss, and proceed to narrate some of its consequences.

Actions of ejectment continued to be brought before the Albany courts; but the settlers, despairing of success after the precedents of the first cases, did not appear in defence, nor give themselves any more trouble in the matter. Next came sheriffs and civil magistrates to execute the writs of possession, and by due course of law to remove the occupants from the lands. At this crisis the affair assumed a tangible shape. The mountaineers felt themselves at home on the soil, which they had subdued by their own labor, and in the territory over which they had begun to exercise supreme dominion, by meeting in conventions and committees and taking counsel of each other on public concerns. To drive one of them from his house, or deprive him of his hard-earned substance, was to threaten the whole community with an issue fatal alike to their dearest interests, and to the rights, which every man deems as

sacred as life itself. It was no wonder, therefore that they should unite in a common cause, which it required their combined efforts to maintain.

As it was expected the sheriffs would soon make their appearance, precautions were taken to watch their motions, and give due notice of their approach. In the first instance, when the sheriff arrived at the house, on the owner of which he was to serve a writ of possession, he found it surrounded by a body of men, who resisted his attempts, and defeated his purpose. Complaints were sent to Lord Dunmore, then governor of New York, accompanied with the names of the leaders of this "riotous and tumultuous" assemblage; and the governor forthwith published a proclamation on the 1st day of November, 1770, denouncing this presumptuous act, and commanding the sheriff of Albany county to apprehend the offenders, whose names had been mentioned, and commit them to safe custody, that they might be brought to condign punishment; authorizing him to call to his assistance the *posse comitatús*, or the whole power of the county. But proclamations were of as little avail as writs of possession; and the sheriff was never lucky enough to seize any of the rioters, who doubtless had the forethought to keep out of his reach.

The next exploit was at the house of James Brackenridge, whose farm was within the township

of Bennington, and on whom the sheriff came to serve a writ. The house was filled with armed men, who treated this civil officer with much disrespect, and set his authority at naught. A few days afterwards he returned with a *posse*, such as he could collect for the purpose ; but in this instance he was again repelled by a still more numerous party armed with muskets, which they presented at the breasts of the sheriff and his associates, and exhibited other attitudes of menace and contempt, against which these pacific messengers, armed only with the mandates and terrors of the law, did not think it prudent to contend. The rioters, as they were called, and perhaps by no very forced construction of language, came off a second time triumphant ; and thus the boldness of their resolutions received a new incitement. These examples, however, did not deter the civil officers from endeavoring to discharge their duty. They appeared in other places, and in one or two instances with success ; but they could not evade the vigilance of the people, who kept a watchful eye upon their movements, and who, when they caught the intruders, resorted to a mode of punishment less perilous than that with powder and ball, but attended with scarcely less indignity to the unfortunate sufferers. This summary process was denominated *chastisement with the twigs of the wilderness*, a phraseology too significant to need explanation.

As open war now existed, and hostilities had commenced, the *Green Mountain Boys*, as the belligerents were denominated, thought it advisable to organize their forces and prepare for the contest in a manner worthy of the cause at stake. In all the feats of enterprise and danger, as well as in matters of state policy, Ethan Allen had hitherto been the chief adviser and actor. It was natural, that, in arranging their military establishment, the people should look up to him as the person best qualified to be placed at its head. He was appointed colonel-commandant, with several captains under him, of whom the most noted were Seth Warner and Remember Baker. Committees of safety were likewise chosen, and intrusted with powers for regulating local affairs. Conventions of delegates, representing the people, assembled from time to time, and passed resolves and adopted measures, which tended to harmonize their sentiments and concentrate their efforts.

Thus prepared and supported, Colonel Allen, with a promptness and activity suited to his character, drew out his volunteers in larger or smaller numbers, as the exigency of the case required, and either in person, or by the agency of his captains, presented a formidable force to the sheriffs and constables wherever they appeared within the limits of the New Hampshire Grants. The convention had decreed, that no officer from New

York should attempt to take any person out of their territory on the penalty of a severe punishment ; and it was also forbidden, that any survey or should presume to run lines through the lands, or inspect them with that intention. This edict enlarged the powers of the military commanders ; for it was their duty to search out such intruders, and chastise them according to the nature of their offence. A few straggling settlers, claiming titles under the New York grants, had ventured over the line of demarkation. These were forcibly dispossessed by detachments of Colonel Allen's men, frequently led on by him in person. The sheriffs and their *posse comitatús* continued to be pursued with unremitting eagerness, whenever they dared to set their feet on the forbidden ground. With these various affairs on his hands, it will readily be imagined that the commander of the Green Mountain Boys was not idle ; nor was it surprising, that he should attract the particular notice of the New York government. So many complaints were made of the riotous and disorderly proceedings of his volunteers and associates, such was the indignation of the New York party on account of the harsh measures adopted by them towards the persons, whom they seized as trespassers upon their property, and so entirely did they set at defiance the laws of New York, to which their opponents accounted

them amenable, that the governor was tempted to try the virtue of another proclamation, in which he branded the deed of dispossessing a New York settler with the opprobrious name of felony, and offered a reward of twenty pounds to any person, who would apprehend and secure Allen, or either of eight other persons connected with him, and mentioned by name.

Whether this proclamation was thought too mild in its terms, or whether new outrages had added to the enormity of the offence, it is not easy to decide ; but another was promulgated, enlarging the bounty for Allen to one hundred and fifty pounds, and for Seth Warner and five others to fifty pounds each. Not to be outdone by the authority of New York in exercising the prerogatives of sovereignty, Colonel Allen and his friends sent out a counter proclamation, offering a reward of five pounds to any person, who would take and deliver the attorney-general of that colony to any officer in the military association of the Green Mountain Boys ; the said attorney having rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the settlers, by the zeal and pertinacity with which he had entered into the contest against them.* Notwithstanding the frequency of proclamations, it is believed that no person was apprehended in

* Ira Allen's *History of Vermont*, p 29.

consequence of them, which is a proof that the people of the parts of New York adjoining the New Hampshire Grants were more favorable to the settlers, than were the prominent men of the colony ; otherwise the allurements of the reward would have induced combinations for seizing individual offenders, particularly as the people were required by law to assist the sheriff in the execution of his office. Allen never denied, that the conduct of himself and his mountaineers, interpreted by the laws of New York, or the laws of any well ordered society, was properly called riotous ; but he contended, that they were driven to this extremity by the oppression of their stronger neighbors, that no other means were left by which they could defend their property, and that under such circumstances they were perfectly justified in resorting to these means. They encroached not upon the possessions of other people, they remained on their own soil, and, if riots existed, they were caused by those, who came among them for purposes of molestation and injury. Viewing things in this light, he thought it hard, and with reason, that he should first be called a rioter, then a criminal rioter, and last of all be denounced to the world as a felon, with a price set upon his liberty, and threats of condign punishment if he should be taken.

But he was equally regardless of threats, and faithful in executing the charge reposed in him by his associates. Affairs had now been brought to such a stage, that it was the fixed determination of the settlers at all hazards to maintain their ground by expelling every person, who should presume to approach their territory under the auspices of the New York claimants. An incident occurred, which indicated the temper and spirit of the people. News came to Bennington, that Governor Tryon was ascending the North River with a body of British troops, who were on their way to subdue the refractory Green Mountain Boys, and to quell the disputes by an overwhelming force. This report at first produced alarm. The Committee of Safety and the military officers held a consultation. Their perilous situation was viewed in all its aspects, and it was finally resolved, that, considering the measures they had already pursued, and that their vital interests required a perseverance in the same, "it was their duty to oppose Governor Tryon and his troops to the utmost of their power." They immediately proceeded to devise a plan of operations, by which a few sharp-shooters were to be stationed in a narrow pass on the road leading to Bennington, who were to lie concealed and shoot down the officers as they approached with the troops. These same marksmen were then to hasten forward through

the woods, and join another party of their comrades at a similar position, where they were to exercise their unerring skill with their rifles, and then retreat to the main body, who would be prepared to receive the invading troops, much disordered and dispirited as it was supposed they would be by the loss of officers. Colonel Allen despatched a trusty person to Albany, with instructions to wait the arrival of Governor Tryon's army, to take particular note of the officers, that he might know them again, and to ascertain all that he could as to the numbers of the enemy, the time of marching, and other useful intelligence. The messenger returned with the information, that the troops were wind-bound down the river, that they were destined for the posts on the Lakes, and had no designs upon Bennington. Although the people were thus relieved from the necessity of putting their valor to the test, yet their prompt and bold preparation for the onset was a pledge, that in no event could it have terminated to their dishonor.

Affairs were proceeding in this train of civil commotion and active hostilities, when Governor Tryon, in a spirit of candor and forbearance hardly to have been expected at that crisis, wrote a letter to the inhabitants of Bennington and the adjacent country, dated on the 19th of May, 1772, censuring the illegality and violence of their conduct, but at the same time expressing a desire to

do them justice, and inviting them to send a deputation of such persons as they might choose, who should lay before him a full state of their grievances, and the causes of their complaints. To any deputies thus sent he promised security and protection, excepting Ethan Allen, Seth Warner, and three others, who had been named in his proclamation as offenders against the laws, and for apprehending whom a reward had been offered. On receiving this letter the people of Bennington and the neighboring towns assembled by their committees, took the subject into consideration, and without delay acceded to the proposal. They appointed two delegates, Stephen Fay and Jonas Fay, to repair to New York, and wrote a letter in answer to Governor Tryon's, briefly setting forth the grounds of their discontent and the reasons of their conduct, and referring to their agents for particular explanations. From the style and tone of the letter, it was obviously penned by Ethan Allen.

Neither was the opportunity to be passed over, by Allen and his proscribed friends, of vindicating themselves against the aspersions cast upon them by their enemies, and the stigma of being pointed out to the world as rioters, abettors of mobs, and felons. They sent a joint despatch to Governor Tryon, in the nature of a protest against the treatment they had received, and in justification of their motives and acts. Allen was

again the penman for his brethren, and, considering their provocations, and the degree of excitement to which they had been wrought up, their remonstrance was clothed in language sufficiently respectful, breathing the spirit of men conscious of their dignity, and resolute in the defence of their rights, but ready to meet the awards of justice and abide by the decision of a fair and impartial tribunal. Some of their arguments are put in a forcible manner. "If we do not oppose the sheriff and his *posse*," say they, "he takes immediate possession of our houses and farms; if we do, we are immediately indicted as rioters; and when others oppose officers in taking their friends so indicted, they are also indicted, and so on, there being no end of indictment against us so long as we act the bold and manly part and stand by our liberty. And it comes to this at last, that we must tamely be dispossessed, or oppose officers in taking possession, and, as a next necessary step, oppose the taking of rioters, so called, or run away like so many cowards and quit the country to a number of cringing, polite gentlemen, who have ideally possessed themselves of it already."

Again; "Though they style us rioters for opposing them, and seek to catch and punish us as such, yet in reality themselves are the rioters, the tumultuous, disorderly, stimulating faction, or in

fine the land-jobbers; and every violent act they have done to compass their designs, though ever so much under pretence of law, is in reality a violation of law, and an insult to the constitution and authority of the Crown, as well as to many of us in person, who have been great sufferers by such inhuman exertions of pretended law. Right and wrong are eternally the same to all periods of time, places, and nations; and coloring a crime with a specious pretence of law only adds to the criminality of it, for it subverts the very design of law, prostituting it to the vilest purposes." *

These statements embraced the substance of their defence, considered in its theory and principles, although they were strengthened by a series of collateral facts and a combination of particulars, which were all made to assume a bearing favorable to the general cause. Governor Tryon received the deputies with affability and kindness, listened to their representations, and laid the matter of their grievances before his council. After due deliberation the council reported to the governor, that they wished him to give the people of the New Hampshire Grants all the relief in his power, and recommended that

* Ethan Allen's *Brief Narrative of the Proceedings of the Government of New York, &c.* pp. 58, 62.

the prosecutions, on account of crimes with which they were charged, should cease till his Majesty's pleasure could be ascertained, and that the New York grantees should be requested till such time to put a stop to civil suits respecting the lands in controversy. This vote of the council was approved by the governor, and with this intelligence the deputies hastened back to their constituents, who hailed them as the messengers of peace and joy. They had never asked for more than was implied by these terms, being well persuaded, that, however the question of jurisdiction might be settled, the King would never sanction a course of proceeding, which should deprive them of their property. The impulse of gladness spread quickly to the cabins of the remotest settlers; a meeting of the people was called at Bennington, where a large concourse assembled; the minutes of the council and the governor's approval were read, and applauded with loud acclamations, and for the moment the memory of all former griefs was swept away in the overflowing tide of enthusiasm for Governor Tryon. The single cannon, constituting the whole artillery of Colonel Allen's regiment, was drawn out and discharged several times in honor of the occasion; and Captain Warner's company of Green Mountain Boys, paraded in battle array, fired three volleys with small arms; the surrounding multi-

tudes at the same time answering each discharge with huzzas, and every demonstration of delight. It was accounted a day of triumph to the heroes of Bennington, and a harbinger of tranquillity to the settlers, who had hitherto been harassed by the incessant tumults of the present, or the vexatious uncertainty of the future.

But unluckily this season of rejoicing was of short duration. It was indeed premature ; for although the terms brought back by the commissioners held out an appearance of reconciliation, yet the seeds of mischief were not eradicated, and they immediately began to spring up with their former vigor. The conciliatory resolve of the governor and council moreover contained an ambiguity, which seemed at first to escape the notice of the people, in the excess of their hilarity. The New York grantees were desired to cease from prosecuting any more civil suits, till the King's pleasure should be known ; but nothing was said about putting in execution the suits already decided in their favor, and no prohibition intimated against their taking possession of lands claimed in consequence of such decisions, or sending surveyors to fix boundaries and localities. Hence it is obvious, that all the actual sources of dissension and tumult remained in their full force.

It was unfortunate, that an example occurred while the negotiation was pending. Soon after

the commissioners set off for New York, intelligence was brought to Bennington, that a noted surveyor, employed by the New York claimants, had found his way into some of the border townships, and was busy in running out lands. A small party rallied, with Colonel Allen at their head, went in pursuit of the surveyor, fell upon his track in the woods, overtook and seized him, intending to punish him in a manner suited to their ideas of the audaciousness of his offence. They broke his instruments, examined and tried him before a court organized according to their manner, found him guilty, and passed sentence of banishment, threatening the penalty of death, should he ever again be caught within the limits of the interdicted territory. At this juncture they heard of the success of the mission to New York, which occasioned them to dismiss the surveyor without personal injury, and to rescind their harsh sentence.

During this expedition Colonel Allen and his party also dispossessed the tenants of an intruder, near the mouth of Otter Creek, where, under the shield of a New York title, he had taken a saw mill and other property from the original settlers, and appropriated them to himself, adding tenelements and improvements for his laborers. Colonel Allen expelled the tenants, burnt their habitations, restored the sawmill to its first owner, and broke

the millstones of a gristmill, which he could not burn without endangering the sawmill.

The fame of these exploits travelled with speed to New York, and kindled the anger of Governor Tryon and the members of his council. The governor wrote a letter of sharp rebuke to the inhabitants of the Grants, complaining of this conduct as an insult to government, and a violation of public faith. This letter was taken into consideration by the committees of several townships assembled at Manchester, who voted to return an answer, which was drafted by Ethan Allen, secretary to the convention. In regard to the prominent points, Mr. Allen argued in behalf of his associates, that the public faith was not plighted on their part, till after the ratification at Bennington of the terms brought back by their commissioners, and that the transactions so severely censured took place previously to that event. If there was any breach of faith in the case, it was declared to have been on the part of the land-jobbers in New York, who sent a surveyor into the disputed domain, while the commissioners were negotiating for a reconciliation of differences. As to putting the intruders at Otter Creek again into possession, which the governor had demanded in a somewhat peremptory manner, they declined doing it, assigning as a reason that those persons were justly removed, and that the

governor could not fail to be of the same opinion when duly informed of facts. The assembled committees moreover declared explicitly, that, by the terms of reconciliation, they did not expect any settlements or locations would be attempted on the lands in question, till his Majesty's pleasure should be known. If such were not the meaning and intent of the governor, in the proposal he had sent by the commissioners, then their act of ratification was a nullity.

To put the matter on this footing was at once to revive all the old difficulties ; for the governor had no power to stop the course of law, by prohibiting those persons from taking possession of their lands, who had been confirmed in their claims by the regular decisions of the courts. All such claimants, and agents acting in their behalf, the settlers had determined to resist by force, and had given practical proofs of their resolution, which were not to be mistaken. They had also resolved to pursue, expel, or otherwise punish any person within the disputed district, who should presume to accept an office civil or military under the authority of New York. Like the Tories of the Revolution, these people were considered as the worst kind of enemies, and treated with uncommon severity. In an unlucky hour two or three of them accepted from Governor Tryon commissions of justices of the peace,

and had the hardihood to act in their official dignity. The indignation and wrath of the Green Mountain Boys were roused. In one instance the unhappy delinquent was brought before the Committee of Safety, where the resolve of the convention was read to him, forbidding any one in the territory to hold an office under the colony of New York ; and then judgment was pronounced against him, in the presence of many persons, by which he was sentenced to be tied to a tree, and chastised "with the twigs of the wilderness" on his naked back, to the number of two hundred stripes, and immediately expelled from the district, and threatened with death if he should return, unless specially permitted by the Convention.

In the midst of these rigors, the mode of punishment was sometimes rather ludicrous than severe. In the town of Arlington lived a doctor, who openly professed himself a partisan of New York, and was accustomed to speak disrespectfully of the convention and committees, espousing the cause of the New York claimants, and advising people to purchase lands under their title. He was admonished by his neighbors, and made to understand, that this tone of conversation was not acceptable, and was requested to change it, or at least to show his prudence by remaining silent. Far from operating any reform, these

hints only stirred up the ire of the courageous doctor, who forthwith armed himself with pistols and other weapons of defence, proclaiming his sentiments more boldly than ever, setting opposition at defiance, and threatening to try the full effects of his personal prowess and implements of warfare on any man, who should have the temerity to approach him with an unfriendly design. Such a boast was likely to call up the martial spirit of his opponents, who accordingly came upon the doctor at an unguarded moment, and obliged him to surrender at discretion. He was thence transferred to the Green Mountain Tavern, in Bennington, where he was arraigned before the committee, who, not satisfied with his defence, sentenced him to a novel punishment, which they ordered to be put in immediate execution.

Before the door of this tavern, which served the double purpose of a court-house and an inn, stood a signpost twenty-five feet high, the top of which was adorned with the skin of a catamount, stuffed to the size of life, with its head turned towards New York, and its jaws distended, showing large naked teeth, and grinning terror to all who should approach from that quarter. It was the judgment of the court, that the contumacious doctor should be tied in a chair, and drawn up by a rope to the catamount, where he was to remain suspended two hours; which punishment

was inflicted, in the presence of a numerous assemblage of people, much to their satisfaction and merriment. The doctor was then let down, and permitted to depart to his own house.

On two or three occasions Colonel Allen was near being taken, in consequence of the rewards offered for him in the governor's proclamations. When he made excursions abroad, whether for military or other purposes, he commonly went armed with a musket and a brace of pistols. Being on a tour to the north, in company with a single friend, he one evening entered a house not many miles from Crown Point, in which, to his surprise and after it was too late to retreat, he found there were two sergeants and ten men. He was known to the sergeants, and soon had reason to suspect, that they intended to seize him. Putting the best face upon the matter, however, and concealing his suspicions, he called for supper, conversed in great good humor with the sergeants, asked them to drink with him, and the evening passed away merrily till bedtime. It then appeared, that there were no spare beds in the house, as they had all been taken by the first comers ; but these persons very civilly proposed to yield their claims to Colonel Allen, and pressed him with a show of earnestness to accept their offer. He declined it, with thanks for their courtesy, declaring that he could not think of depriv-

ing them of their rest merely for his personal accommodation, and that, as the weather was warm, he and his companion would seek lodgings in the barn. To hide their real design they left their guns behind. The sergeants accompanied them to the barn, saw them safely in their quarters, wished them a good night's repose, and returned to the house. By a previous concert a young girl in the family took the first opportunity unseen to carry the guns to the barn. The sergeants waited till they supposed the two travellers were asleep, and that there would be no danger from their pistols, and then stole softly out, flushed with the prospect of speedily entrapping the renowned leader of the Green Mountain Boys. But their imaginary victory ended in disappointment. Colonel Allen, having succeeded in his scheme of deceiving his pursuers, had arisen and departed, and the night screened him from their search.

At another time, while he was on a visit to his brother in Salisbury, Connecticut, a plot was laid by several persons, residing between that place and Hudson's River, to come upon him by surprise, seize, and carry him to Poughkeepsie jail. This plot was accidentally discovered in time to defeat the designs of the conspirators.

Meantime the spirit of hostility between the two parties continued to increase, the New York

claimants being resolved to enforce their claims by all the power they could put in action, and the original settlers equally determined to resist aggression by every species of force, which they could wield. Hence commotions, riots, mobs, and bloodshed were common occurrences, though the settlers adhered strictly to their declared principle of acting on the defensive, never pursuing offenders beyond their own domain, but showing little mercy to those, who dared to violate their decrees, question their authority, and above all to step over the line of demarkation as the agents of their enemies. At last the New York grantees, discouraged with this mode of conducting so fruitless a contest, combined their influence, and applied to the Assembly of that province for legislative aid. The result was a law, purporting to be an act for preventing tumultuous and riotous assemblies, and punishing rioters, which may safely be pronounced the most extraordinary specimen of legislative despotism, that has ever found a place in a statute-book. After naming Ethan Allen, Seth Warner, Remember Baker, and several others, as the principal ringleaders in the riots, the law empowers the governor and council to send out an order, requiring those persons, or any others indicted for offences, to surrender themselves for commitment to one of his Majesty's justices of the peace within seventy days from

the date of the order ; and in case the summons should not be obeyed, the person neglecting to surrender himself was to be adjudged and deemed as convicted, and to suffer death if indicted for a capital offence ; and moreover the Supreme Court was authorized to award execution, in the same manner as if there had been an actual trial, proof of guilt, and a judicial sentence.*

On the same day that this law was enacted, the governor sent out another proclamation, offering a reward for apprehending and imprisoning Ethan Allen and seven of his associates, as if never tired of exercising this prerogative of his office, although hitherto without the least shadow of success. The object of the law and of the proclamation was to draw from their strong-holds the principal rioters, as they were called, and inflict upon them such punishments as would quell their opposition, and dishearten their followers. The effect was far otherwise. The committees of the several townships assembled in convention, and took up the subject with more calmness, than could have been anticipated under circumstances so irritating. They reviewed the causes of the

* This act, certainly one of the most curious in the annals of legislation, was passed on the 9th of March, 1774, and may be seen in Ethan Allen's *Narrative of the Proceedings of the Government of New York, &c.*, p. 23. And also in Slade's *Vermont State Papers*, p. 42.

controversy, asserted anew their rights, affirmed that they were not the aggressors, that all the violence to which they had been accessory was fully justified by the laws of self-preservation, and that they were determined to maintain the ground they had taken, without fear or favor, at every hazard and every sacrifice. They closed their public proceedings by a resolve, that all necessary preparations should be made, and that the inhabitants should hold themselves in readiness at a minute's warning to defend those among them, "who, for their merit in the great and general cause, had been falsely denominated rioters;" declaring at the same time, that they would act only on the defensive, and that in all civil cases, and criminal prosecutions really such, they would assist the proper officers to enforce the execution of the laws.

In addition to these public doings of the people at large by their representatives, the proscribed persons, at the head of whom was Ethan Allen, published a manifesto, to which they jointly affixed their names, containing a defence of themselves and free remarks on the New York act and proclamation. To look for moderation as a shining quality in a paper of this kind, is perhaps more than would be authorized by the nature of the case, or the character of the individuals concerned; yet it expresses sentiments, which we

should be sorry not to find in men, whom we would respect, and in whom we would confide in the hour of peril. It speaks in a tone of deep complaint of the injuries they have suffered from the vindictive persecutions of their enemies, protests against the tyrannical abuse of power, which would arraign them as criminals for protecting their own property, and threatens retaliation upon all, who should attempt to put in execution against them the sanguinary edict of the New York Assembly. But in the midst of the sea of dangers, with which they seemed to be surrounded, they braced themselves up with the consolatory reflection, "that printed sentences of death will not kill us; and if the executioners approach us, they will be as likely to fall victims to death as we." They furthermore proclaimed, that, should any person be tempted, by the "wages of unrighteousness offered in the proclamation," to apprehend any of them or their friends, it was their deliberate purpose to inflict immediate death upon so rash and guilty an offender.

To this pitch of legalized infatuation on the one part, and of animosity and violence on the other, had the controversy attained by imbibing new aliment at every stage, when it was suddenly arrested by events of vastly greater moment, which drew away the attention of the political leaders in New York from these border feuds to

affairs of more vital interest. The revolutionary struggle was on the eve of breaking out, and the ferment, which had already begun to agitate the public mind from one end of the continent to the other, was not less active in New York than in other places. From this time, therefore, the Green Mountain settlers were permitted to remain in comparative tranquillity. Several years elapsed, it is true, before they released themselves entirely from the claims of their neighbors, and established their independence on an undisputed basis; yet they always acted as an independent community, assumed and exercised the powers of a separate body politic, and secured at last, to the fullest extent, their original demands and pretensions. Ethan Allen had a large share in bringing the contest to its happy termination; but before we proceed any further with this subject, it is necessary to follow him through a different career, and trace the series of incidents, which befell him in the war of the Revolution.

At this point in our narrative, however, it is proper to turn our attention for a moment to a literary performance by Ethan Allen, which had some influence in its day, and which is still valuable for the historical matter it embodies. Having zealously embarked in the cause of the Green Mountain Boys, to which he was prompted both by interest and ambition, he applied his vigorous

mind to a thorough investigation of the subject. He pursued his researches into the ancient charters, followed out their bearings upon each other in regard to boundary lines, studied the history of the colonies, and thus collected a mass of authentic materials, which, with an account of recent events known to him personally, he compiled into a volume extending to more than two hundred pages. He, who in this work shall expect to find flowers of rhetoric, or a polished diction, or models of grammatical accuracy, or the art of a practised writer, will be disappointed; but, clothed in the garb of an unformed style and confused method, there are many sagacious remarks and pertinent expressions, many strong points of argument stated with force, if not with elegance, many evidences of a mind accustomed to observe and think, draw its own inferences, and utter its sentiments with a fearless reliance on its own resources and guidance.*

* The work is entitled *A Brief Narrative of the Proceedings of the Government of New York, &c.*, printed at Hartford, 1774. The supplementary part contains a reply to a pamphlet published a short time before in New York, by authority, entitled *A State of the Right of the Colony of New York, with Respect to its Eastern Boundary, &c.* It is hardly necessary to observe, that the particulars of the present memoir have thus far been chiefly derived from these two publications; to which may be added Ira Allen's *History of Vermont*.

Early in the year 1775, as soon as it was made manifest by the attitude assumed on the part of the British government against the colonies, and by the conduct of General Gage in Boston, that open hostilities must inevitably commence in a short time, it began to be secretly whispered among the principal politicians in New England, that the capture of Ticonderoga was an object demanding the first attention. In the month of March, Samuel Adams and Dr. Joseph Warren, as members of the Committee of Correspondence in Boston, sent an agent privately into Canada, on a political mission, with instructions to ascertain the feelings of the people there in regard to the approaching contest, and to make such reports as his observations should warrant. Faithful to his charge, and vigilant in his inquiries, this agent sent back intelligence from Montreal, and among other things advised, that by all means the garrison of Ticonderoga should be seized as quickly as possible after the breaking out of hostilities, adding that the people of the New Hampshire Grants had already agreed to undertake the task, and that they were the most proper persons to be employed in it.

This hint was given three weeks anterior to the battle of Lexington, and how far it influenced future designs may not be known ; but it is certain, that, eight days after that event, several gentle-

men at that time attending the Assembly in Hartford, Connecticut, concerted a plan for surprising Ticonderoga, and seizing the cannon in that fortress, for the use of the army, then marching from all quarters to the environs of Boston. Although these gentlemen were members of the Assembly, yet the scheme was wholly of a private nature, without any overt sanction from the authority of the colony. A committee was appointed, at the head of which were Edward Mott and Noah Phelps, with instructions to proceed to the frontier towns, inquire into the state of the garrison, and, should they think proper, to raise men and take possession of the same. To aid the project, one thousand dollars were obtained from the treasury as a loan, for which security was given.

On their way the committee collected sixteen men in Connecticut, and went forward to Pittsfield, in Massachusetts, where they laid open their plan to Colonel Easton and Mr. John Brown, who agreed to join them, and they proceeded in company to Bennington. Colonel Easton, being in command of a regiment of militia, proposed to engage some of them in the expedition, and enlisted volunteers as he passed along, between forty and fifty of whom reached Bennington the next day. As no time was to be lost, a council of war was immediately called, in which it was voted that Colonel Ethan Allen should send out par-

ties to the northward, secure the roads, and prevent intelligence from passing in that direction. This was accordingly done. Colonel Allen's Green Mountain Boys having been collected as speedily as possible, the little army marched, and arrived at Castleton on the evening of the 7th of May.

Here another council of war was held, and Ethan Allen was appointed the commander of the expedition, James Easton the second in command, and Seth Warner the third. Being thus organized they proceeded to fix a plan of operations. It was decided that Colonel Allen and the principal officers, with the main body of their forces, consisting of about one hundred and forty men, should march directly to Shoreham, opposite to Ticonderoga. A party of thirty men, commanded by Captain Herrick, was at the same time to move upon Skenesborough, take Major Skene* and his people into custody, seize all the boats that could be found there, and hasten with them down the Lake to meet Colonel Allen at Shoreham. Captain Douglass was also despatched to Panton, beyond Crown Point, in search of boats, which were to be brought to Shoreham, as it was supposed the boats at that place would

* The son of Governor Skene, who was likewise called Major Skene, and who was at this time absent in England.

be inadequate to the transportation of the troops across the Lake

The position now occupied was nine miles from Skenesborough, and twenty-five from Ticonderoga by the route to be traversed. Just as these arrangements were settled, the men selected for each party, and the whole prepared to march, Colonel Arnold arrived from Massachusetts, having been commissioned by the Committee of Safety of that colony, without any knowledge of what had been done in Connecticut, to raise men and proceed on the same enterprise. He brought no men with him, but had agreed with officers in Stockbridge to enlist and send forward such as could be obtained, making all haste himself to join the expedition, which he did not hear was on foot till he came to that town. A difficulty now arose, which threatened for the moment to defeat the whole scheme. Arnold claimed the command of all the troops, by virtue of his commission from the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, averring that this was a superior appointment to that of any other officer concerned, and demanding the preference as his right. The rumor soon got to the ears of the soldiers, who broke out into vehement clamors, and were on the point of a mutiny, declaring that they would serve under no officers except those with whom they had engaged, and that they would club

their muskets and march home. The flame was quenched by the prudent conduct of Colonels Allen and Easton ; and when Arnold discovered, that his pretensions met with no favor either from the men or their leaders, he yielded to necessity and agreed to unite with them as a volunteer.

The march was pursued according to the original plan, and Colonel Allen arrived without molestation on the shore of the Lake opposite to Ticonderoga. It was important to have a guide, who was acquainted with the grounds around the fortress, and the places of access. Allen made inquiries as to these points of Mr. Beman, a farmer residing near the Lake in Shoreham, who answered, that he seldom crossed to Ticonderoga, and was little acquainted with the particulars of its situation ; but that his son Nathan, a young lad, passed much of his time there in company with the boys of the garrison. Nathan was called, and appeared by his answers to be familiar with every nook in the fort, and every passage and by-path by which it could be approached. In the eye of Colonel Allen he was the very person to thread out the best avenue ; and by the consent of the father and a little persuasion Nathan Beman was engaged to be the guide of the party. The next step was to procure boats, which were very deficient in number, as neither Captain Herick nor Captain Douglass had sent any from

Skenesborough or Panton. Eighty-three men only had crossed, when the day began to dawn ; and while the boats were sent back for the rear division, Colonel Allen resolved to move immediately against the fort.

He drew up his men in three ranks, addressed them in a short harangue, ordered them to face to the right, and, placing himself at the head of the middle file, led them silently but with a quick step up the heights on which the fortress stood, and before the sun rose he had entered the gate and formed his men on the parade between the barracks. Here they gave three huzzas, which aroused the sleeping inmates. When Colonel Allen passed the gate, a sentinel snapped his fussee at him, and then retreated under a covered way. Another sentinel made a thrust at an officer with a bayonet, which slightly wounded him. Colonel Allen returned the compliment with a cut on the side of the soldier's head, at which he threw down his musket and asked quarter. No more resistance was made. Allen demanded to be shown to the apartment of Captain Delaplace, the commandant of the garrison. It was pointed out, and Colonel Allen, with Nathan Beman at his elbow, who knew the way, hastily ascended the stairs, which were attached to the outside of the barracks, and called out with a voice of thunder at the door, ordering the astonished captain

instantly to appear, or the whole garrison should be sacrificed. Started at so strange and unexpected a summons, he sprang from his bed and opened the door, when the first salutation of his boisterous and unseasonable visitor was an order immediately to surrender the fort. Rubbing his eyes and trying to collect his scattered senses, the captain asked by what authority he presumed to make such a demand. "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," replied Allen. Not accustomed to hear much of the Continental Congress in this remote corner, nor to respect its authority when he did, the commandant began to speak; but Colonel Allen cut short the thread of his discourse by lifting his sword over his head, and reiterating the demand for an immediate surrender. Having neither permission to argue nor power to resist, Captain Delaplace submitted, ordering his men to parade without arms, and the garrison was given up to the victors.*

* The facts respecting Nathan Beman were related to me by a gentleman, who received them from Nathan Beman himself. Whether this exploit of his boyhood was the only one performed by him during the war, I know not; but his martial aptitude was displayed in another career, he having been for many years a noted hunter of wolves, on the northern borders of New York between Lakes Champlain and Ontario.

This surprise was effected about four o'clock in the morning of the 10th of May. Warner crossed the Lake with the remainder of the troops, and marched up to the fort. The whole number of men under Colonel Allen, as reported by the committee on the spot, in a letter to the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, dated the day after the assault, was one hundred and forty from the New Hampshire Grants, and seventy from Massachusetts, besides sixteen from Connecticut. The prisoners were one captain, one lieutenant, and forty-eight subalterns and privates, exclusive of women and children. They were all sent to Hartford, in Connecticut. The principal advantage of the capture, except that of possessing the post, was one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, also swivels, mortars, small arms, and stores. The cannon only were of much importance.

As soon as the prisoners were secured, and the bustle of the occasion had a little subsided, Colonel Allen sent off Warner with a detachment of men to take Crown Point. Strong head-winds drove back the boats, and the whole party returned the same evening. The attempt was renewed a day or two afterwards, and proved successful. A sergeant and eleven men, being the whole garrison, were made prisoners. Sixty-one good cannon were found there, and fifty-three unfit for service. Previously to this affair, Colonel

Allen had sent a messenger to Captain Remember Baker, who was at Onion River, requesting him to join the army at Ticonderoga with as large a number of men as he could assemble. Baker obeyed the summons ; and when he was coming up the Lake with his party, he met two small boats, which had been despatched from Crown Point to carry intelligence of the reduction of Ticonderoga to St. John's and Montreal, and solicit reinforcements. The boats were seized by Baker, and he arrived at Crown Point just in time to unite with Warner in taking possession of that post.

Thus the main object of the expedition was attained ; but the troubles of the leaders were not at an end. No sooner had the fort surrendered, than Arnold assumed the command, affirming that he was the only officer invested with legal authority. His pretensions were not heeded, and although he was vehement and positive, yet it was in vain to issue orders, which nobody would obey ; and finally he consented to a sort of divided control between Colonel Allen and himself, he acting as a subordinate, but not wholly without official consideration. He had behaved with bravery in the assault, marching on the left of Colonel Allen, and entering the fortress side by side with him. When the Connecticut committee perceived his design they repelled it upon the principle, that the gov

ernment of Massachusetts had no concern in the matter, that the men from that colony under Colonel Easton were paid by Connecticut, and that he could be considered in no other light than a volunteer. The same committee installed Colonel Allen anew in the command of Ticonderoga and its dependencies, which by a formal commission they authorized him to retain, till Connecticut or the Continental Congress should send him instructions. A narrative of the particulars was despatched by an express to the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, who confirmed the appointment, and directed Arnold not to interfere.

The party that went to Skenesborough came unawares upon Major Skene the younger, whom they took prisoner, seizing likewise a schooner and several batteaux, with all which they hastened to Ticonderoga. Allen and Arnold now formed a plan to make a rapid push upon St. John's, take a king's sloop that lay there, and attempt a descent upon the garrison. The schooner and batteaux were armed and manned ; and, as Arnold had been a seaman in his youth, the command of the schooner was assigned to him, while the batteaux were committed to the charge of Allen. They left Ticonderoga nearly at the same time, but the wind being fresh the schooner outsailed the batteaux. At eight o'clock on the evening of the 17th of May, Arnold was within thirty miles of

St. John's ; and, as the weather was calm, he fitted out two batteaux with thirty-five men, leaving the schooner behind and proceeding to St. John's, where he arrived at six o'clock the next morning, surprised and took a sergeant and twelve men, and the king's sloop of about seventy tons with two brass six-pounders and seven men, without any loss on either side. The wind proving favorable, he stayed but two hours and then returned, taking with him the sloop, four batteaux, and some valuable stores, having destroyed five batteaux, being all that remained. He was induced to hasten away, because large reinforcements were momentarily expected from Montreal and Chamblee.

About fifteen miles from St. John's he met Colonel Allen, pressing onward with his party. A salute of three discharges of cannon on the one side, and three volleys of musketry on the other, was fired, and Allen paid Arnold a visit on board the king's sloop. After inquiring into the situation of things, Allen determined to proceed to St. John's and keep possession there with about one hundred men. He arrived just before night, landed his party, and marched about a mile towards Laprairie, where he formed an ambuscade to intercept the reinforcements hourly expected. But finding his men greatly fatigued, and ascertaining that a force much superior to his own was on its approach, he retired to the other side of the

river. In this position he was attacked early in the morning by two hundred men, and driven to his boats, with which he returned to Ticonderoga. His loss was three men taken prisoners, one of whom escaped in a few days.

While this train of events was in progress, Colonel Easton had repaired to Massachusetts and Connecticut, instructed by Colonel Allen and the committee to explain to the governments of those colonies the transactions attending the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and to solicit aids to secure these conquests. Since the affair had begun in Connecticut, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts seemed well inclined to let that colony have both the honor and burden of maintaining the acquisitions, which had been gained under her auspices, and wrote to the governor of Connecticut, disclaiming all motives of interference, and recommending the business to his special charge. Governor Trumbull immediately prepared for sending up a reinforcement of four hundred men. But in truth, neither party was ambitious of assuming the responsibility of further operations, till the views and intentions of the Continental Congress should be known. Messengers were accordingly despatched to Philadelphia; and also to the Convention of New York, in which province the conquered posts were situate. Policy as well as courtesy required that New

York should be consulted, since the coöperation of that colony was essential to the harmony and success of any future measures. The Continental Congress approved what had been done, and requested Governor Trumbull to send a body of troops to Lake Champlain, sufficient to defend the garrisons of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, till further orders from the Congress, and at the same time desired the Convention of New York to supply the said troops with provisions. This arrangement was carried into effect, and one thousand troops were ordered to march from Connecticut under the command of Colonel Hinman.

Meantime Allen and Arnold kept their stations, the former as commander-in-chief at Ticonderoga, and the latter at Crown Point, where he acted the part rather of a naval than of a military officer, having under his care the armed sloop and schooner, which had been taken, and a small flotilla of batteaux. Some of Colonel Allen's men went home, but others came in, both from the New Hampshire Grants, and from Albany county, so that his numbers increased. A few men also joined Arnold, whom he had engaged in Massachusetts, when he crossed the country to execute the commission of the Committee of Safety.

Flushed with his successes, and eager to pursue them, Colonel Allen began to extend his views more widely, and to think of the conquest of

Canada. Persuaded that such an undertaking was feasible, and foreseeing its immense importance to the cause in which the country was now openly embarked, he wrote the following letter to the Provincial Congress of New York.

“ Crown Point, 2 June, 1775.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ Before this time you have undoubtedly received intelligence, not only of the taking of the fortified places on Lake Champlain, but also of the armed sloop and boats therein, and the taking possession of a schooner, which is the property of Major Skene, which has been armed and manned, and of the conversion of them, with a large train of artillery, to the defence of the liberty and the constitutional rights of America. You have likewise undoubtedly been informed, that the expedition was undertaken at the special encouragement and request of a number of respectable gentlemen in the colony of Connecticut. The pork forwarded to subsist the army by your directions evinces your approbation of the procedure ; and, as it was a private expedition, and common fame reports that there is a number of overgrown Tories in the province, you will the readier excuse me in not taking your advice in the matter, lest the enterprise might have been prevented by their treachery. It is here reported, that some of them

have been converted, and that others have lost their influence.

“ If in those achievements there be any thing honorary, the subjects of your government, namely, the New Hampshire settlers, are justly entitled to a large share, as they had a great majority of the soldiery, as well as the command, in making those acquisitions ; and, as you justify and approve the same, I expect you already have or soon will lay before the grand Continental Congress the great disadvantage it must inevitably be to the colonies to evacuate Lake Champlain, and give up to the enemies of our country those invaluable acquisitions, the key either of Canada or of our own country, according to which party holds the same in possession, and makes a proper improvement of it. The key is ours as yet, and provided the colonies would suddenly push an army of two or three thousand men into Canada, they might make a conquest of all that would oppose them, in the extensive province of Quebec, unless reinforcements from England should prevent it. Such a division would weaken General Gage, or insure us Canada. I would lay my life on it, that with fifteen hundred men I could take Montreal. Provided I could be thus furnished, and an army could take the field, it would be no insuperable difficulty to take Quebec.

“This object should be pursued, though it would take ten thousand men, for England cannot spare but a certain number of her troops; nay, she has but a small number that are disciplined, and it is as long as it is broad, the more that are sent to Quebec, the less they can send to Boston, or any other part of the continent. And there will be this unspeakable advantage in directing the war into Canada, that, instead of turning the Canadians and Indians against us, as is wrongly suggested by many, it would unavoidably attach and connect them to our interest. Our friends in Canada can never help us, until we first help them, except in a passive or inactive manner. There are now about seven hundred regular troops in Canada.

“It may be thought, that to push an army into Canada would be too premature and imprudent. If so, I propose to make a stand at the Isle-aux-Noix, which the French fortified by intrenchments the last war, and greatly fatigued our large army to take it. It is about fifteen miles on this side of St. John's, and is an island in the river, on which a small artillery placed would command it. An establishment on a frontier, so far north, would not only better secure our own frontier, but put it in our power better to work our policy with the Canadians and Indians, or, if need be, to make incursions into the territory of Canada, the same

as they could into our country, provided they had the sovereignty of Lake Champlain, and had erected head-quarters at or near Skenesborough. Our only having it in our power, thus to make incursions into Canada, might probably be the very reason why it would be unnecessary so to do, even if the Canadians should prove more refractory than I think for.

“Lastly, I would propose to you to raise a small regiment of rangers, which I could easily do, and that mostly in the counties of Albany and Charlotte, provided you should think it expedient to grant commissions, and thus regulate and put them under pay. Probably you may think this an impertinent proposal. It is truly the first favor I ever asked of the government, and, if granted, I shall be zealously ambitious to conduct for the best good of my country, and the honor of the government. I am, Gentlemen, &c.

“ETHAN ALLEN.”

In forming an estimate of this letter, it is to be remembered, that no person had as yet ventured publicly to recommend an invasion of Canada. It had in fact hitherto been the policy of Congress to give as little offence to the Canadians as possible, this course being thought the most likely to conciliate their friendship. A resolve passed that assembly, the day before the above letter was

written, expressing a decided opinion, that no colony or body of colonists ought to countenance any incursion into Canada. The same sentiments had been declared in a public manner by the New York Provincial Congress. Ethan Allen's letter, therefore, had little chance of meeting with favor from the persons to whom it was addressed. The merit of being the first to suggest plans, which were afterwards adopted by the national councils, as of great political moment, was nevertheless due to him. Before the end of three months from the date of his letter, an expedition against Canada was set on foot by Congress, and seconded by the voice of the whole nation. Colonel Allen's advice was deemed bold and incautious when it was given, but subsequent events proved, that its basis was wisdom and forethought; and had it been heeded, and a competent force pushed immediately into Canada, before the British had time to rally and concentrate their scattered forces, few in numbers and imperfectly organized, there can be no reasonable doubt, that the campaign would have been successful, instead of the disastrous failure, which actually ensued, and which may be ascribed more to the wavering sentiments and tardy motions of Congress in projecting and maturing the expedition, than to any defect in the plan or in the manner of its execution.

As Colonel Allen knew it was at this time the prevailing policy to secure the neutrality of the Canadians, he made no hostile demonstrations towards Canada, after the prudent measure in conjunction with Arnold of seizing all the water-craft at St. John's ; unless the sending of a reconnoitring party over the line may be considered a belligerent act. It is evident, however, that he did not look upon it in that light ; for when his party of four men returned, and reported that they had been fired upon by about thirty Canadians, he interpreted it as a breach of peace on the side of the assailants. Embracing this as a fit opportunity, he wrote a paper, combining the two properties of a complaint and an address, which was signed by him and Colonel Easton, and despatched to a confidential person at Montreal, with directions to have it translated into French and circulated among the people. The idea of neutrality was put forward in this paper, as the one which the Canadians ought to cherish, since they had no direct interest in taking part with the English, and certainly no cause for joining in a quarrel against their neighbors of the other colonies.

The troops from Connecticut under Colonel Hinman at length arrived at Ticonderoga, and Colonel Allen's command ceased. His men chiefly returned home, their term of service having

expired. He and Seth Warner set off on a journey to the Continental Congress, with the design of procuring pay for the soldiers, who had served under them, and of soliciting authority to raise a new regiment in the New Hampshire Grants. In both these objects they were successful. By an order of Congress they were introduced on the floor of the House, and they communicated verbally to the members such information as was desired. Congress voted to allow the men, who had been employed in taking and garrisoning Ticonderoga and Crown Point, the same pay as was received by officers and privates in the American army ; and also recommended to the Provincial Congress of New York, that, after consulting with General Schuyler, "they should employ in the army to be raised for the defence of America those called Green Mountain Boys, under such officers as the said Green Mountain Boys should choose." This matter was referred to the government of New York, that no controversy might arise about jurisdiction, at a time when affairs of vastly greater moment demanded the attention of all parties.

Allen and Warner repaired without delay to the New York Congress, presented themselves at the door of the hall, and requested an audience, the resolve of the Continental Congress having already been received and discussed. An embar-

raising difficulty now arose among the members, which caused much warmth of debate. The persons, who asked admittance, were outlaws by an existing act of the legislature of New York, and, although the Provincial Congress was a distinct body from the old assembly, organized in opposition to it, and holding its recent principles and doings in detestation, yet some members had scruples on the subject of disregarding in so palpable a manner the laws of the land, as to join in a public conference with men, who had been proclaimed by the highest authority in the colony to be rioters and felons. There was also another party, whose feelings and interest were enlisted on the side of their scruples, who had taken an active part in the contest, and whose antipathies were too deeply rooted to be at once eradicated. On the other hand, the ardent friends of liberty, who regarded the great cause at stake as paramount to every thing else, and who were willing to show their disrespect for the old assembly, argued not only the injustice but tyranny of the act in question, and represented in strong colors the extreme impolicy of permitting ancient feuds to mar the harmony and obstruct the concert of action, so necessary for attaining the grand object of the wishes and efforts of every member present. In the midst of the debate, Captain Sears moved that Ethan Allen should

be admitted to the floor of the House. The motion was seconded by Melancton Smith, and was carried by a majority of two to one. A similar motion prevailed in regard to Seth Warner.

When these gentlemen had addressed the House they withdrew, and it was resolved, that a regiment of Green Mountain Boys should be raised, not exceeding five hundred men, and to consist of seven companies. They were to choose their own officers, except the field-officers, who were to be appointed by the Congress of New York ; but it was requested that the people would nominate such persons as they approved. A lieutenant-colonel was to be the highest officer. The execution of the resolve was referred to General Schuyler, who immediately gave notice to the inhabitants of the Grants, and ordered them to proceed in organizing the regiment.

Meantime Allen and Warner had finished their mission, and returned to their friends. The committees of several townships assembled at Dorset to choose officers for the new regiment. The choice fell on Seth Warner for lieutenant-colonel, and on Samuel Safford for major. This nomination was confirmed by the New York Congress. Whether Colonel Allen declined being a candidate, or whether it was expected that the regiment would ultimately have a colonel, and that he would be advanced to that post, or wheth

er his name was omitted for any other reason, I have no means of determining. At any rate he was not attached to the regiment, and in a few days he joined General Schuyler at Ticonderoga as a volunteer. He wrote a letter of thanks to the New York Congress in the following words. "When I reflect on the unhappy controversy, which has many years subsisted between the government of New York, and the settlers on the New Hampshire Grants, and also contemplate the friendship and union that have lately taken place, in making a united resistance against ministerial vengeance and slavery, I cannot but indulge fond hopes of a reconciliation. To promote this salutary end I shall contribute my influence, assuring you, that your respectful treatment not only to Mr. Warner and myself, but to the Green Mountain Boys in general in forming them into a battalion, is by them duly regarded; and I will be responsible, that they will reciprocate this favor by boldly hazarding their lives, if need be, in the common cause of America."

Knowing the value of Colonel Allen's experience and activity, General Schuyler persuaded him to remain in the army, chiefly with the view of acting as a pioneer among the Canadians. In pursuance of this design, as soon as the army reached Isle-aux-Noix, an address to the people of Canada was written by General Schuyler, the

drift of which was to convince them that the invasion was exclusively against the British, and in no degree intended as an encroachment on the rights and liberties of the ancient inhabitants. On the contrary they were invited to unite with the Americans, and participate in the honorable enterprise of throwing off the shackles of an oppressive government, asserting the claims of justice, and securing the enjoyment of freedom. This address was committed to the hands of Ethan Allen, who was instructed to proceed with it into Canada, make it known to the inhabitants in such a manner as his discretion should dictate, and ascertain as far as he could their temper and sentiments.

He went first to Chamblee, where he found many persons friendly to the American cause, and among them several men of the first respectability and influence. He was visited by these gentlemen, and by the militia captains in that neighborhood, who seemed well disposed to join with the Americans, if there was any chance of their coming forward in such numbers as to hold out a probability of success. They furnished Colonel Allen with a guard, who constantly attended him under arms, and escorted him through the woods. He sent a messenger to the chiefs of the Caghnawaga Indians, proffering to them peace and friendship. They returned the compliment by delegating two

of their tribe, with beads and a belt of wampum, to hold a conference with Colonel Allen and confirm the friendly disposition of the Caghnawagas. The ceremony was performed with much parade and solemnity, according to the Indian manner. After spending eight days on this mission, traversing different parts of the country between the Sorrel and St. Lawrence, and conversing with many persons, Colonel Allen returned to the army at Isle-aux-Noix. The result of his observation was, that, should the American army invest St. John's, and advance into Canada with a respectable force, a large number of the inhabitants would immediately join in arms with the Americans; but till such a movement should be made, it was not likely that there would be any open indications of hostility to the British power. His conduct in executing this service was approved by General Schuyler.

Just at this time the command of the Canada expedition devolved on General Montgomery, who advanced to St. John's, and laid siege to that garrison. Colonel Allen was immediately despatched to retrace his steps, penetrate the country, and raise as many of the inhabitants as he could to unite in arms with the American forces. He had been absent a week, when he wrote as follows to General Montgomery.

“I am now at the parish of St. Ours, four leagues from Sorel to the south. I have two hundred and fifty Canadians under arms. As I march, they gather fast. There are the objects of taking the vessels in the Sorel and General Carleton. These objects I pass by to assist the army besieging St. John’s. If that place be taken, the country is ours ; if we miscarry in this, all other achievements will profit but little. I am fearful our army will be sickly, and that the siege may be hard ; therefore I choose to assist in conquering St. John’s. You may rely on it, that I shall join you in about three days with five hundred or more Canadian volunteers. I could raise one or two thousand in a week’s time, but I will first visit the army with a less number, and, if necessary, go again recruiting. It is with the advice of the officers with me, that I speedily repair to the army. God grant you wisdom and fortitude and every accomplishment of a victorious general.”

Unluckily these anticipations were blighted in their bloom. In an evil hour Colonel Allen was induced to change his judicious determination of joining General Montgomery without delay, and to give ear to a project, which proved the ruin of his bright hopes, and led him into a fatal snare. He had marched up the eastern bank of the St. Lawrence as far as Longueuil, nearly opposite to Montreal, and was pressing on towards

St. John's, according to the tenor of his letter. Between Longueil and Laprairie he fell in with Major Brown, who was at the head of an advanced party of Americans and Canadians. Brown requested him to stop, took him aside, and proposed to unite their forces in an attack on Montreal, representing the defenceless condition of the town, and the ease with which it might be taken by surprise. Relying on the knowledge and fidelity of Brown, and ever ready to pursue adventures and court danger, Colonel Allen assented to the proposal, and the plan was matured on the spot. Allen was to return to Longueil, procure canoes, and pass over with his party in the night a little below Montreal; and Brown at the same time was to cross above the town, with about two hundred men, and the attack was to be made simultaneously at opposite points.

True to his engagement, Allen crossed the river on the night of the 24th of September, with eighty Canadians and thirty Americans, and landed them undiscovered before daylight, although the canoes were so few and small, that it was necessary to pass back and forth three times in conveying over the whole party. The wind was high and the waves rough, which added to the peril of an adventure sufficiently hazardous in itself. The day dawned, and Colonel Allen waited with impatience for the signal of Major

Brown's division having landed above the town. He set guards in the road to stop all persons that were passing, and thus prevent intelligence of his approach from being carried into Montreal. When the morning was considerably advanced and no signal had been given, it was evident that Major Brown had not crossed the river. Colonel Allen would willingly have retreated, but it was now too late. The canoes would hold only one third of his party. A person detained by his guard had escaped and gone into the town, and presently armed men were seen coming out. He posted his men in the best manner he could, and prepared to maintain his ground. About forty British regulars, two or three hundred Canadians, and a few Indians, constituted the assailing force. The skirmish continued an hour and three quarters, when Colonel Allen agreed to surrender to the principal British officer, upon being promised honorable terms. His men had all deserted him in the conflict, except thirty-eight, who were included in his capitulation. Seven of these were wounded. They were treated civilly by the officers while marching into Montreal, and till they were delivered over to General Prescott, whose conduct is described as having been peculiarly harsh, and in all respects unworthy of an officer of his rank. His language was coarse and his manner unfeeling. After conversing with his pris

oner, and asking him if he was the same Colonel Allen, who had taken Ticonderoga, he burst into a passion, threatened him with a halter at Tyburn, and ordered him to be bound hand and foot in irons on board the Gaspee schooner of war. In this situation Colonel Allen wrote the following letter to General Prescott.

‘ HONORABLE SIR,

“ In the wheel of transitory events I find myself a prisoner and in irons. Probably your Honor has certain reasons to me inconceivable, though I challenge an instance of this sort of economy of the Americans during the late war towards any officers of the Crown. On my part, I have to assure your Honor, that when I had the command and took Captain Delaplace and Lieutenant Felton, with the garrison at Ticonderoga, I treated them with every mark of friendship and generosity, the evidence of which is notorious even in Canada. I have only to add, that I expect an honorable and humane treatment, as an officer of my rank and merit should have, and subscribe myself your Honor’s most obedient humble servant.

“ ETHAN ALLEN.” *

* The account of the capture of Ticonderoga, which has been given above, and of the subsequent events of

No answer to this letter was returned. Colonel Allen's irons were massive, and so fastened as to give him constant pain. He was handcuffed, and his ankles were confined in shackles, to which was attached a bar of iron eight feet long. In this plight he was thrust into the lowest part of the ship, where he had neither a bed nor any article of furniture, except a chest, on which by the favor of some humane sailor he was allowed to sit, or lie on his back, the only recumbent posture that his irons would suffer him to assume. His companions in arms, who capitulated on the same terms as their leader, were fastened together in pairs with handcuffs and chains.

For more than five weeks the prisoners were kept in this manner on board the *Gaspee*, treated as criminals, and subject to every indignity from the officers, and from persons who came to see them out of curiosity. After the repulse of Governor Carleton at Longueuil, by Warner and his brave Green Mountain Boys, the state of affairs in Montreal began to put on a more doubtful aspect. It was deemed advisable to send off the prisoners,

Colonel Allen's life till he was taken prisoner, has been drawn entirely from original manuscripts, in the public offices of Massachusetts and New York, and among General Washington's papers. The particulars respecting his captivity are chiefly gathered from his own "*Narrative*," written and published shortly after his release.

that there might be no danger of a rescue, in case of the sudden approach of General Montgomery's army, which might be daily expected.

In a short time Colonel Allen found himself at Quebec, where he was transferred to another vessel, and then to a third, a change most favorable to his health and comfort. Captain Littlejohn, the commander of the last vessel, was particularly civil, generous, and friendly, ordering his irons to be knocked off, taking him to his own table, and declaring that no brave man should be ill used on board his ship. Unhappily this respite from suffering was of short continuance. Arnold appeared at Point Levi, on the 9th of November, with an armed force, descending from the forests like an apparition of enchantment in some fairy tale. The news of the surrender of St. John's and the capitulation of Montreal to General Montgomery came soon afterwards. These events were looked upon as the harbinger of greater disasters, in the downfall of Quebec, and the conquest of the whole province. In anticipation of the fate of St. John's and Montreal, a vessel of war, called the *Adamant*, had been got in readiness to carry despatches to the government. The prisoners were put on board this vessel, and consigned to the charge of Brook Watson, a merchant of Montreal. Several other loyalists were passengers, and among them Guy Johnson

Under his new master, Colonel Allen soon discovered, that he was not to expect the urbanity and kindness of Captain Littlejohn. His hand cuffs were replaced, and he and thirty-three other prisoners, manacled in the same manner, were confined together in a single apartment, enclosed with oak plank, which they were not suffered to leave during the whole passage of nearly forty days. Where there is so much to censure in the hardened insensibility, which could inflict sufferings like these on prisoners, whose only crime was their bravery, it should be mentioned as one softening feature, that as much provision was served to them as they wanted, and a gill of rum a day to each man ; so that the negative merit of not adding starvation to confinement, insults, and chains, should be allowed to have its full weight. The name of Brook Watson had already become notorious. Three or four months previously to his sailing for England, he had been at New York and Philadelphia, visited many persons of distinction, especially members of the Continental Congress, and conducted himself in such a manner as to leave the impression, that he was a warm friend to the American cause. Immediately after his return to Montreal, letters written by him to persons in General Gage's army at Boston were intercepted, which proved him to have deserved the character rather of a spy than a friend. He had

art, insincerity, and talent. He was the same Brook Watson, who was afterwards Lord Mayor of London.

It was a joyful day for the prisoners when the *Adamant* entered the harbor of Falmouth. Their long and close confinement had become extremely irksome and painful. They were now brought on deck, and permitted to breathe the fresh air, and were cheered with the light of day. In a short time they were landed, and marched to Pendennis Castle, about a mile from the town. Great crowds were attracted to witness so novel a sight ; and if all the prisoners were habited in the costume of Colonel Allen, it is no wonder that their curiosity was excited. While he was on his recruiting tour he had clothed himself in a Canadian dress, consisting of a short, fawn-skin, double-breasted jacket, a vest and breeches of sagathy, worsted stockings, shoes, a plain shirt, and a red worsted cap. In this garb he was taken ; and, as it had never been changed during his captivity, he was exhibited in it to the gazing multitudes of Falmouth. Robinson Crusoe on his island could hardly have presented a more grotesque appearance. The people stared, but no insult was offered to the prisoners on their way to the castle.

In this new abode they found their condition much improved, being lodged in an airy room, and indulged with the luxury of bunks and straw

Their irons were still kept on, but they were kindly treated, and furnished with fresh and wholesome provisions. Colonel Allen was particularly favored by the commandant of the castle, who sent him a breakfast and dinner every day from his own table, and now and then a bottle of wine. Another benevolent gentleman supplied his board with suppers, and in the article of good living his star of fortune had probably never been more propitious. The renown of his adventure at Ticonderoga had gone before him; and as that fortress had a notoriety in England, on account of its importance in former wars, the man who had conquered it was looked upon as no common person, though now in chains and stigmatized with the name of rebel. He was permitted to walk on the parade-ground within the walls of the castle, where many respectable people from the neighborhood paid him a visit, and conversed with him on various topics. His bold and independent manner, fluency of language, and strong native talent, contrasted with the singularity of his appearance, in his Canadian dress and handcuffs, awakened the surprise and contributed to the amusement of his auditors. Though in bondage, and completely at the mercy of his enemies, he was eloquent on the theme of patriotism, boasted the courage and firmness of his countrymen, and pledged himself that they would never

cease to resist oppression, till their just claims were allowed, and their liberty secured. These political harangues, if they had no other effect, served to lighten the weight of his chains, and to give a seeming impulse to the leaden wings of time.

Notwithstanding the comparative amelioration of his circumstances, Colonel Allen's mind was not perfectly at ease in regard to the future. General Prescott's hint about his gracing a halter at Tyburn rested upon his thoughts, and gave him some uneasiness amidst the uncertain prospects now before him. But despondency and fear made no part of his character, and, even when hope failed, his fortitude was triumphant. Prepared for the worst that might happen, he bethought himself of trying the effect of a stratagem. He asked permission to write a letter to the Continental Congress, which was granted. He depicted in vivid colors the treatment he had received from the beginning of his captivity, but advised the Congress not to retaliate, till the fate that awaited him in England should be known, and then to execute the law of retaliation not in proportion to the small influence of his character in America, but to the extent demanded by the importance of the cause for which he had suffered. The despatch was finished, and handed over for inspection to the officer, who had permitted him to write. This

officer went to him the next day, and reprimanded him for what he called the impudence of inditing such an epistle. "Do you think we are fools in England," said he, "and would send your letter to Congress with instructions to retaliate on our own people? I have sent your letter to Lord North." This was precisely the destination for which the writer intended it, and he felt a secret satisfaction that his artifice had succeeded. He wished the ministry to know his situation and his past sufferings, and to reflect, that his countrymen had it in their power to retaliate in full measure any acts of violence meditated against his person. A letter on these subjects, written directly to a minister by a prisoner in irons, would not have been forwarded.

Whatever ideas the ministry may have entertained when the prisoners were landed, it was soon perceived that lenient measures were the most advisable. The opposition made a handle of an act so outrageous, as that of treating as malefactors and chaining men, who had been taken bravely fighting in a cause, for which a whole continent was in arms; and it was now too late to talk of hanging the revolted colonists on the plea of rebellion. Moreover it was known, that St. John's and Montreal had surrendered to Montgomery, and that the very officers, who had captured these men and sent them to England, were in the hands

of the Americans. It was furthermore rumored, that certain gentlemen had resolved to try the effect of the *Habeas Corpus* act in setting the prisoners at liberty, or at least in bringing them to a trial before a proper magistrate, to ascertain whether they were legally guilty of any offence, which justified their confinement. To silence popular clamor, and prevent rash consequences, the government determined to regard them as prisoners of war, and to send them back to America. For this purpose they were ordered on board the *Solebay* frigate, where their irons were taken off, after they had worn them about three months and a half.

Just at this time the grand armament was preparing to sail from Ireland, under Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis, with troops to act against North Carolina, according to a plan formed by the ministry in consequence of the representations of Governor Martin, that a numerous body of loyalists was ready to take up arms in that colony, as soon as they should be encouraged by the coöperation of a sufficient force from Great Britain. The troops were to be put on board in the harbor of Cork, where the vessels destined for the expedition rendezvoused, and among them the *Solebay* frigate. From the captain of this ship Colonel Allen had early proofs, that the prisoners were to expect neither lenity nor civil treatment. His

first salutation was to order them in an imperious tone to leave the deck, and never appear there again, adding that the deck was the "place for gentlemen to walk." Allen was conducted down to the cable-tier, where he was left to accommodate himself as well as he could. Being ill of a cold, and his health much impaired by his late sufferings, the natural buoyancy of his spirits failed him in this comfortless abode, and he felt himself, as he has expressed it, "in an evil case," imagining his enemies to have devised this scheme of effecting, by a slow and clandestine process, what it was impolitic for them to do in the open face of day with the eyes of the public upon them.

His despondency, however, gradually wore off, and, two days afterwards, wanting fresh air and exercise, he resolved to try the experiment of appearing on deck, having washed, shaved, and adjusted his dress in the best manner his scanty wardrobe would allow. The captain saw him, and demanded in an angry voice, if he had not been ordered not to come on deck. Colonel Allen replied, that he had heard such an order from him, but at the same time he had said, "the deck was the place for gentlemen to walk," and, as he was Colonel Allen and a gentleman, he claimed the privilege of his rank. Whether influenced by this kind of logic, or by some other reason, the captain contented himself with utter

ng an oath, and cautioning the prisoner never to be seen on the same side of the ship with him. There was encouragement even in this harsh greeting, since it did not amount to an absolute prohibition ; and, by taking care to keep at a proper distance from the captain, he was afterwards permitted to walk the deck, though sometimes capriciously and rudely ordered off. His condition below was somewhat amended by the generosity of the master-at-arms, an Irishman, who offered him a place in a little berth fitted up for himself with canvass between the decks, in which he was kindly allowed by the occupant to remain till the ship arrived in America.

When it was known at Cork, that Colonel Allen and his fellow-prisoners were in the harbor on board the *Solebay*, several gentlemen of that city determined to convey to them substantial evidences of their sympathy. A full suit of clothes was sent to each of the privates ; and Colonel Allen's wardrobe was replenished with fine broadcloth sufficient for two suits, eight shirts and stocks ready made, several pairs of silk and worsted hose, shoes, and two beaver hats, one of which was richly adorned with gold lace. Nor did the bounty of the philanthropists of Cork end here. Although they had clothed the naked, they did not consider the work of benevolence finished till they had fed the hungry A

profuse supply of sea-stores came on board for Colonel Allen, consisting of sugar, coffee, tea, chocolate, pickled beef, fat turkies, wines, old spirits, and other articles suited for a voyage. Each of the privates also received tea and sugar. Added to this, a gentleman visited Colonel Allen, in behalf of the donors, and offered him fifty guineas, which, after the other tokens of their munificence, he declined to accept, retaining only seven guineas as a relief in case of pressing necessity.

The above articles were admitted on board by the second lieutenant, while his superiors were on shore; but when the captain returned and was informed what had been done, he was angry, and swore that "the American rebels should not be feasted at this rate by the rebels of Ireland." He took away all the liquors, except a small quantity, which was secreted by the connivance of the second lieutenant, and he appropriated to the use of the crew all the tea and sugar, that had been given to the privates. The clothing they were permitted to keep.

The fleet put to sea from Cork on the 13th of February, consisting of forty-three sail, with about two thousand five hundred troops. The weather was fine, and the effect was beautiful as the ships sailed out of the harbor; but they had been at sea only five days, when a terrible storm

arose, which raged with unabated violence for twenty-four hours, dispersed the fleet, and shattered several of the transports so much, that they were obliged to put back to Cork and the southern ports of England. The Solebay received no essential injury, and she proceeded on her voyage. Before they left Cork the prisoners were divided and assigned to three different ships. This gave their leader some uneasiness, for they had been brave, and true to the cause in which they suffered, and had borne all their calamities with a becoming fortitude. It turned out, however, that they were better treated on board the other ships, than they had been while with him. The only incident worthy of being commemorated, which happened to Colonel Allen during the voyage, was the change of his Canadian costume for one fabricated from the superfine broadcloths received in Cork. This metamorphosis was effected by the aid of the captain's tailor, whose services were granted on this occasion as a special favor. Clad in his new suit with his silk stockings and laced hat, the prisoner made a more respectable figure on deck, and enjoyed privileges, which at first had been denied.

It was with some regret, therefore, that, after his arrival at Cape Fear River, in North Carolina, he found himself transferred to the Mercury frigate, the captain of which he describes as

tyrannical, narrow-minded, and destitute of the common feelings of humanity. The only consolation in this change of circumstances was, that his original companions in captivity were brought together again on board this ship, except one who had died on the passage from Ireland, and another who had escaped by an extraordinary exertion of swimming, after the fleet arrived on the coast, and who safely reached his home in New England. The captain ordered the purser not to let the prisoners have any thing from his store, and forbade the surgeon's attending them in sickness. Every night they were shut down in the cable-tier, and indeed they passed a miserable existence both day and night, being told, when they complained of such treatment, that it was a matter of little consequence, as they would be hanged when they arrived in Halifax.

The Mercury sailed from Cape Fear River on the 20th of May, and touched at the Hook off New York the first week in June. At this time General Washington with the American army had possession of New York, and the British shipping lay in the outer harbor near the Hook. The Mercury remained here three days, during which time Governor Tryon, and Mr. Kemp, the attorney-general of New York under the old government, came on board. Tryon eyed Allen, as they were walking on different parts of the

deck, but did not speak to him. It is natural to presume, that the late governor saw with a secret satisfaction the man in safe custody, who had caused him so much unavailing trouble in writing proclamations. Kemp was the same attorney, whom Allen had met at Albany, when he attended the court there as agent for the patentees of the New Hampshire Grants. No man had been more active in pressing the New York claims, or in stirring up persecutions against the Green Mountain Boys; and of course no one had acquired among them a more odious notoriety. This accidental meeting with Ethan Allen must have called up peculiar associations in the minds of both the governor and the attorney-general.

The Mercury arrived in Halifax after a short passage from New York. The prisoners were put into a sloop, then lying in the harbor, and a guard watched them day and night. In this confinement they were served with so scanty an allowance of provisions, that they suffered cruelly from the distress of hunger, which, added to attacks of the scurvy, made their condition more deplorable than it had been at any former time. They were still under the direction of the captain of the Mercury, to whom they wrote letter after letter, imploring medical aid and other assistance, but in vain. The captain was deaf to their calls,

took no notice of their complaints, and, to get rid of their importunities, he ordered the guards to bring him no more letters. Their case seemed now reduced to the verge of despair. Allen resolved, however, to make one more effort. He wrought so far upon the compassion of one of the guards, as to persuade him to take a letter directed to Governor Arbuthnot, which was faithfully communicated. Touched with the claims of humanity, the governor immediately sent a surgeon to the prisoners, with instructions to administer such relief to the sick as was necessary, and also an officer, to ascertain and report the grounds of their complaint. This officer discharged his duty well, and the result was, that the next day they were removed from their dismal quarters on board the prison-sloop to the jail in Halifax.

To seek the asylum of a jail is not a usual experiment for attaining happiness. In the present instance, however, it was a fortunate one for the sufferers, inasmuch as it was the means of relieving them from the pains of hunger, and procuring for them the attendance of a physician. In other respects their condition was little amended, since more than thirty persons were shut up in one room, several of them in various stages of sickness, with hardly a single accommodation, that could in any manner contribute to their comfort or convenience. Some of Allen's fellow-prisoners

had been sent to the hospital, and others employed in the public works, so that only thirteen of those taken in Canada now remained with him.

Among the American prisoners, whom Allen met in Halifax jail, was Mr. James Lovell of Boston, a gentleman eminent for his learning and character, who, after his release, was many years a member of the Continental Congress. His zeal in the cause of his country, and frankness in avowing his sentiments, had made him an object of suspicion and odium to the British commander in Boston, where he was first imprisoned ; and, when that city was evacuated, he was carried into captivity, and locked up in the jail of Halifax in the same apartment with prisoners of the lowest class.

There were now together four American officers, besides Mr. Lovell, who, by the custom of war and the practice then existing in regard to British prisoners taken by the Americans, had a right to their parole ; but this was never granted. They were kept in close confinement till orders came from General Howe to send them to New York. Partial negotiations had commenced between General Washington and General Howe for the exchange of prisoners, and certain principles had been laid down, by the mutual agreement of the parties, as a basis upon which to proceed. Moreover Congress had instructed General Washington to make a special application in

favor of Mr. Lovell and Colonel Allen, proposing to exchange Governor Skene for the former, and an officer of equal rank for the latter. The legislature of Connecticut had also interfered in behalf of Allen, and eighteen of the prisoners taken with him, who were natives of that State, and solicited Congress and the Commander-in-chief to use all practicable means for effecting their release. The same had been done by the Massachusetts legislature in the case of Mr Lovell.

After the intelligence of Allen's being in Halifax reached his friends, a project was formed by his brother, Levi Allen, to visit him there and attempt to procure his liberty. The State of Connecticut voted money to pay the expense of this enterprise, but the arrival of the prisoners in New York rendered it unnecessary.

The Lark frigate, on board of which were Mr. Lovell, Colonel Allen, and their companions, sailed from Halifax about the middle of October. Luckily they found themselves at last under an officer, Captain Smith, who treated them with the politeness of a gentleman, and with the feelings of a man capable of sympathizing in the distresses of the unfortunate. The first interview is thus described by Colonel Allen. "When I came on deck, he met me with his hand, welcomed me to his ship, invited me to dine with

him that day, and assured me that I should be treated as a gentleman, and that he had given orders that I should be treated with respect by the ship's crew. This was so unexpected and sudden a transition, that it drew tears from my eyes, which all the ill usages I had before met with were not able to produce; nor could I at first hardly speak, but soon recovered myself, and expressed my gratitude for so unexpected a favor, and let him know, that I felt anxiety of mind in reflecting, that his situation and mine was such, that it was not probable it would ever be in my power to return the favor. Captain Smith replied, that he had no reward in view, but only treated me as a gentleman ought to be treated. He said, this is a mutable world, and one gentleman never knows but it may be in his power to help another."

An opportunity soon occurred of verifying this last remark. They had not been at sea many days, when it was discovered that a conspiracy was on foot to destroy the captain and the principal officers, and seize the ship. An American captain, who had commanded an armed vessel, and been recently taken prisoner, was the chief conspirator. He revealed his designs to Colonel Allen and Mr. Lovell, requesting their coöperation in bringing over the other prisoners, about thirty in number, and telling them that several of

the crew were ready to join in the plot. It was known that there were thirty-five thousand pounds in money on board, and the plan of the conspirators was to take the ship into an American port, where they expected to divide the booty according to the usual rules of captures. Without waiting to discuss the laws of war, or to reason about the infamy and criminality of such an act with men, who were prepared to execute it, Colonel Allen declared with his usual decision and vehemence, that he would not listen a moment to such a scheme, that, in its mildest character, it was a base and wicked return for the kind treatment they had received, and that he would at every personal hazard defend Captain Smith's life. This rebuff was unexpected by the conspirators, and it threw them into a distressing dilemma, since the fear of detection was now as appalling to them as the danger of their original enterprise. They then requested him to remain neutral, and let them proceed in their own way, but this he peremptorily refused ; and he finally succeeded in quelling the conspiracy, by adhering to his resolution, and promising, that, as he had been consulted in confidence, he would not divulge the matter, if the leaders would pledge themselves instantly to abandon the design. In the present state of things they were glad to accept such terms. At the conclusion of this affair Colonel Allen was forcibly reminded of the words of Captain Smith.

Before the end of October the *Lark* frigate anchored in the harbor of New York, and the prisoners were removed to the Glasgow transport. Mr. Lovell was exchanged in a few days for Governor Skene ; and Colonel Allen, after remaining four or five weeks in the transport, where he met with very civil usage, was landed in New York and admitted to his parole. Here he had an opportunity of witnessing the wretched condition and extreme sufferings of the American prisoners, who had been taken in the battle on Long Island and at Fort Washington, and who were left to perish of hunger, cold, and sickness in the churches of New York. He speaks of these scenes as the most painful and revolting, that could be conceived. Indeed numerous concurring testimonies have established it as a fact, of which not a shadow of doubt can now be entertained, that human misery has seldom been seen in such heart-rending forms or under circumstances so aggravating. The motives of the enemy for practising or permitting cruelties so little consonant to the dictates of humanity, the customs of civilized warfare, and every principle of sound policy, are not a fit theme of inquiry in this narrative. The fact itself is an indelible stain, deep and dark, in the character of Sir William Howe, which no array of private virtues, of military talents, or public acts, will hide or obscure. The picture drawn by Allen, colored as it may be

by the ardor of his feelings, is vivid and impressive, and its accuracy is confirmed by the declarations of several other persons, who also related what they saw.

While he was on his parole in New York, a British officer of rank and importance sent for him to his lodgings and told him that his fidelity, though in a wrong cause, had made an impression upon General Howe, who was disposed to show him a favor, and to advance him to the command of a regiment of loyalists, if he would join the service, holding out to him at the same time brilliant prospects of promotion and money during the war, and large tracts of land at its close. Allen replied, "that if by faithfulness he had recommended himself to General Howe, he should be loth by unfaithfulness to lose the general's good opinion ;" and as to the lands, he was by no means satisfied, that the King would possess a sufficient quantity in the United States at the end of the war to redeem any pledges on that score. The officer sent him away as an incorrigible and hopeless subject.

In the month of January, 1777, he was directed with other prisoners to take up his abode on the western side of Long Island, being still on parole, and allowed the usual freedom under such circumstances within certain prescribed limits. Here he remained in a condition of comparative

comfort till August, when he was suddenly apprehended, environed with guards, conducted to the provost-jail in New York, and put into solitary confinement. This act was on the pretence of his having infringed his parole, which he affirmed was untrue, and the whole proceeding unjust and malicious. But the cause was now of little moment, since he was chiefly concerned with the effect. For the space of three days he was immured in his cell without a morsel of food. The sergeant, who stood at the door, refused to be moved by offers of money or appeals to his compassion, and repelled every advance with a soldier's oath and the brief reply, that he would obey his orders. The pains of hunger became extreme, but they were at last assuaged ; and in a few days he was transferred to another apartment of the jail, where he found himself in company with more than twenty American officers.

From this place he was not removed till the end of his captivity. After being shut up for more than eight months in the provost-jail, a confinement of which the prisoners were ever accustomed to speak with disgust and horror, the day of liberty dawned upon him.

Neither his countrymen generally, nor the supreme council of the nation, had at any time lost sight of his sufferings, or ceased to express their sympathy. Congress had on several occasions

proposed his exchange ; but it was prevented after his arrival in New York by the difficulties, which embarrassed and defeated all attempts for effecting a general cartel between Washington and Howe. It was finally agreed, that he should be exchanged for Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell ; and on the 3d of May, 1778, he was taken from prison and conducted under guard to a sloop in the harbor, and thence to Staten Island. Here he was politely received by the British commander, and kindly treated for two days, when Colonel Campbell arrived from Elizabethtown, under the charge of Mr. Elias Boudinot, the American Commissary General of prisoners. It may easily be conceived that the meeting was one of mutual congratulation and joy. The two released captives drank a glass of wine together in celebration of the event, and Colonel Allen returned immediately with Mr Boudinot to Elizabethtown.

His feelings, on once more touching the soil and breathing the air of freedom, will be left to the imagination of the reader. He was now restored to his country, the object of a patriotic devotion, that neither the cruelty nor the enticements of the enemy could diminish ; in whose cause he had suffered a captivity of two years and seven months, under all the rigor of chains, hunger, and harsh usage. Insensibility made no part of his nature, and the soul must be callous

indeed, that would not thrill with emotion at the recollections of the past, the realities of the present, and the visions of the future, that now thronged upon his mind.

Notwithstanding the strong associations and tender ties, which drew him towards his home and friends, the impulse of gratitude was the first he obeyed. The lively interest taken in his condition by the Commander-in-chief, and his efforts to procure his release, were known to him, and he resolved to repair without delay to head-quarters, and express in person his sense of the obligation. The army was at Valley Forge, and as he advanced into the country on his way to that place, he was everywhere greeted by the people with demonstrations of strong interest, not unmixed with curiosity at seeing a man, the incidents of whose life had given him renown, and whose fate while in the hands of the enemy had been a subject of public concern. General Washington received him cordially, and introduced him to the principal officers in camp, who showed him many civilities.

Having thus discharged a duty, which he believed to be demanded by justice and gratitude as the first fruit of his liberty, and having remained a few days only at Valley Forge, he turned his face towards the Green Mountains, and hastened to join his family and former associates. From

Valley Forge to Fishkill he travelled in company with General Gates, who was proceeding to take command of the army on the North River. In the evening of the last day of May, Colonel Allen arrived in Bennington, unexpected at that time by his friends, and a general sensation was immediately spread throughout the neighborhood. The people gathered around him, and, with a delight which could be realized only under circumstances so peculiar, he witnessed the joy that beamed from every countenance, and heard the accents of a hearty welcome uttered by every voice. It was a season of festivity with the Green Mountain Boys, and the same evening three cannon were fired, as an audible expression of their gladness. Nor did the scene of hilarity end with that day. The next morning Colonel Herrick, who had distinguished himself by his bravery under the veteran Stark in the battle of Bennington, ordered fourteen discharges of cannon, "thirteen for the United States and one for young Vermont," as a renewed and more ample compliment to the early champion and faithful associate of the Green Mountain Boys.

Congress was equally mindful of the services and of the just claims of Colonel Allen. As soon as he was released from captivity, they granted him a brevet commission of colonel in the Continental army, "in reward of his fortitude, firmness,

and zeal in the cause of his country, manifested during the course of his long and cruel captivity, as well as on former occasions." It was moreover resolved, that he should be entitled, during the time he was a prisoner, to all the benefits and privileges of a lieutenant-colonel in the service of the United States. That is, he was to receive the pay and other emoluments of that rank. As the brevet commission of colonel did not entitle him to pay, he was allowed seventy-five dollars a month from the date of that commission, till he should be called into actual service. How long this allowance was continued, I have no means of ascertaining. It does not appear, that he ever joined the Continental army. From the above proofs, however, it is evident, that the proceedings of Congress in regard to him were generous and honorable, manifesting at the same time a proper sense of his past sufferings, and respect for his character.

During his absence, important changes had taken place in the affairs of the New Hampshire Grants. The inhabitants had made a gradual progress in maturing and establishing a new form of government, having declared their territory an independent State, under the name of *Verмонт*, framed and adopted a new constitution, and organized the various branches of government by the election of a governor and other civil

officers. In effecting these objects they had encountered numerous obstacles, both from the internal distractions caused by the invasion of Burgoyne's army, and from the machinations and adverse influence of external foes. The embers of the old feud with New York were stirred up afresh, when the people of Vermont presumed to talk of independence and a separation from that State. Governor Clinton, and several other prominent individuals in New York, had been warmly enlisted at an early day against the pretensions of the Green Mountain Boys ; and although they were far from abetting or vindicating the rash measures of the colonial administration, yet they were strenuous in asserting the supremacy of New York over the whole territory as far as Connecticut River, and in demanding from the people an obedience to the laws of that State. Hence it followed, that the controversy was only narrowed in its extent, but not at all changed in its principles.

Ethan Allen arrived just in time to buckle on his armor, and enter with renovated vigor into a contest, in which he had been so conspicuous and successful a combatant from its very beginning, and with all the tactics of which he was perfectly familiar. Governor Clinton, by the authority of the New York Legislature, had recently sent out a proclamation, reprobating and

annulling the bloody statute heretofore mentioned, acknowledging that attempts contrary to justice and policy had been made to dispossess the original patentees of their lands, and putting forth certain overtures for a reconciliation of differences, but taking care to assert the absolute power of New York over the persons and property of such, as did not choose to accept these proposals. According to the tenor of these overtures, the patents of the governor of New Hampshire were all to be confirmed, but a continuance of the quit-rents was claimed from the purchasers, as under the colonial system, and the unsettled lands were reserved as the property of the State.

The grand feature of the proclamation was the assumption of supremacy, and this was the point most essential to the people of Vermont, since it struck at the root of their political existence. The overtures were dressed up in such a manner, as to have a plausible appearance, and to be likely to lead astray those persons, who thought less of preserving their political rights, than of the immediate security of their possessions. The more wise and wary, however, took the alarm, and among these was Ethan Allen. He saw a fatal danger lurking beneath a show of proffered indulgences and fair professions. The cautious Trojan distrusted the Greeks even in their acts of apparent generosity; and the leader of the

Green Mountain Boys looked with an eye of equal suspicion on the spontaneous advances of the New Yorkers. In short, every proposal, come from what quarter it might, which did not imply the entire independence of Vermont as a separate State and government, was in his view to be disdained and repelled.

In this spirit he wrote an address to the inhabitants of Vermont, stating briefly the grounds of their claims to the privilege of self-government, and exhorting them not to relax for a moment in their efforts to attain the end for which they had struggled so long and so hard. A large part of his address was taken up in animadverting on Governor Clinton's proclamation, in which, as with a good deal of ingenuity and force he made it appear, the overtures of New York held out to them nothing which they did not already possess, and would deprive them of the dearest of earthly treasures, their liberty. His arguments and his mode of stating them were suited to the people, whom he addressed, and without doubt produced the desired effect of confirming their confidence in themselves, and inciting them to union and perseverance.

Sometimes he touches on personal incidents. Alluding to the bloody act of proscription, which had been passed under Governor Tryon, he observes ; " In the lifetime of that act I was called

by the Yorkers an outlaw ; and afterwards by the British I was called a rebel ; and I humbly conceive, that there was as much propriety in the one name as the other ; and I verily believe, that the King's commissioners would now be as willing to pardon me for the sin of rebellion, provided I would afterwards be subject to Britain, as the legislature above mentioned, provided I would be subject to New York ; and I must confess I had as lief be a subject of the one as the other, and it is well known I have had great experience with them both."

In his concluding remarks on the overtures in the proclamation he says, still addressing himself to the people ; " The main inducement I had in answering them was, to draw a full and convincing proof from the same, that the shortest, best, and most eligible, I had almost said the only possible way of vacating those New York interfering grants, is to maintain inviolable the supremacy of the legislative authority of the independent State of Vermont. This, at one stroke, overturns every New York scheme, which may be calculated for our ruin, makes us freemen, confirms our property, and puts it fairly in our power to help ourselves in the enjoyment of the great blessings of a free, uncorrupted, and virtuous civil government. You have fought, bled, and hitherto conquered, and are as deserving of these

good fruits of your valor, hazard, and toil, as any people under heaven.

“You have experienced every species of oppression, which the old government of New York, with a Tryon at their head, could invent and inflict ; and it is manifest, that the new government are minded to follow in their steps. Happy is it for you, that you are fitted for the severest trials. You have been wonderfully supported and carried through thus far in your opposition to that government. Formerly you had every thing to fear from it ; but now, you have little to fear, for your public character is established, and your cause known to be just. In your early struggles with that government you acquired a reputation of bravery ; this gave you a relish for martial glory, and the British invasion opened an ample field for its display, and you have gone on conquering and to conquer until tall grenadiers are dismayed and tremble at your approach. Your frontier situation often obliges you to be in arms and battles ; and by repeated marching, scoutings, and manly exercises, your nerves have become strong to strike the mortal blow. What enemy of the State of Vermont, or what New York land-monopolizer, shall be able to stand before you in the day of your fierce anger !”

By harangues like this, abounding more in strong and pointed expressions, than in good taste

or a graceful diction, he wrought upon the minds of the people, and inclined them to his wishes. But it should be said to his praise, considering the scenes he passed through, that on no occasion did he encourage or countenance laxness in government, or disobedience to the laws and magistrates, recognised as such by the people themselves. "Any one," he remarks, "who is acquainted with mankind and things, must know, that it is impossible to manage the political matters of this country without the assistance of civil government. A large body of people destitute of it, is like a ship at sea, without a helm or mariner, tossed by impetuous waves. We could not enjoy domestic peace and security, set aside the consequences of a British war and the New York strife, without civil regulations. The two last considerations do, in the most striking manner, excite us to strengthen and confirm the government already set up by the authority of the people, which is the fountain of all temporal power, and from which the subjects of the State of Vermont have already received such signal advantages." These sentiments he avowed repeatedly, and even when he was stirring up and leading out the mobs of Bennington, he always declared it was in self-defence, the result of a necessity forced upon them by their enemies; and he never ceased to recommend order, good faith, and submission to the laws, as es

essential to the prosperity and happiness of the community.

We here discover, in fact, the explanation of the successful progress of the people in rearing up a political fabric, which became solid and durable, although for several years they were apparently in a state of confusion, if not of anarchy. But this was more in appearance than reality. There were no internal broils or commotions, that in any degree disturbed the general order of society. United in one great object of resisting a common foe, and impelled by the same interests and aims, they had few motives for dissensions among themselves; and this union not only pointed out the necessity of rules of government, but afforded opportunities to frame and adopt them in such a manner, that they were acceptable and efficient. The inhabitants of the Grants were mostly natives of the New England colonies, and possessed a similarity in their sentiments and habits, which enabled them to harmonize the more easily in regulating public concerns.

Committees of safety and conventions were the contrivances to which they resorted, for setting in motion and sustaining the machinery of government. These were organized on the strictest republican principles, being created and constituted by the people themselves, acting at first voluntarily in their individual capacity, and agree

ing to be controlled by the voice of a majority. Upon this basis the committees were intrusted with all the power requisite to form regulations for local purposes. The conventions attained the same objects in a broader sphere, and with higher authority. The system was peculiarly felicitous in being adapted to communities of every description, and to small numbers as well as large. Its principles were likewise the elements of the best constructed governments; and hence the people were gradually trained up in the art of self-control, and qualified to assume and maintain the character of an independent State, even while embarrassed by the hostility and interference of the neighboring powers. It is remarkable, that the plan of conventions and committees, which was adopted by all the States at the beginning of the Revolution, had previously been eight years in practice among the first settlers of Vermont.

Considering the part, which Ethan Allen had acted before his captivity, and the consistency of his conduct, it was to be expected, that he would embark with his accustomed zeal in a cause, which had now acquired a new importance, and especially as it was still involved in the old quarrel with New York. As his countrymen had not forgotten the military rank to which they raised him in the season of their former perils, nor the services he rendered at the head of the Green Moun-

tain Boys, and were disposed to profit again by his sword, as well as by his pen and his counsels, he was, soon after his return, appointed general and commander of the militia of the State. A stronger proof of confidence could not have been shown, more particularly at this time, when an invasion of the British from Canada might at any moment be apprehended, and when the delicate relations subsisting between Vermont and two adjoining States threatened an ultimate resort to arms as a possible consequence, either to quell internal factions, or to resist aggressions from abroad.

Meantime an incident occurred, which encumbered the affairs of Vermont with other difficulties. For certain political reasons, sixteen townships in the western parts of New Hampshire, bordering on Connecticut river, formed a combination to desert from that State and join themselves to Vermont. They sent a petition for that purpose to the Vermont legislature ; but it was at first no farther acted upon than to refer it to the people. At the next meeting of the legislature it was found, that a majority of the legal voters was in favor of admitting the sixteen townships. Hence a new enemy was raised up, and the field of discord enlarged. The governor of New Hampshire wrote a spirited protest to the governor of Vermont, claiming the sixteen townships

as a part of that State, and deprecating such an unwarrantable dismemberment. He wrote at the same time to the Continental Congress, demanding their interference in a matter of vital moment, not only to New Hampshire, but to every State in the Union, should such a disorganizing act be tolerated as a precedent.

The Vermont Assembly saw their error too late to retract it, since they had referred the subject to the people, and were bound to abide by their decision. To set the thing in as fair a light as it would bear, however, they appointed General Allen a special agent to proceed to Philadelphia, and explain to Congress this point and others requiring explanation, and endeavor as far as possible to ascertain the views of the members in regard to the independence of Vermont, and what was to be expected from the future deliberations of that body.

Furnished with proper instructions, General Allen repaired to Philadelphia, and applied himself to the duties of his mission. He soon discovered the undertaking to be surrounded with more difficulties, than he had anticipated. Distinct from the absolute merits of the case, there were in Congress party divisions, emanating from various sources, which prevented any union of action or sentiment on the subject of Vermont. The New England members were mostly in favor of granting

independence. This was not less the dictate of sound policy, than of the natural feelings of attachment to people closely allied to themselves and their constituents. Another State in the bosom of New England would of course strengthen the power and influence of the whole in the general scale. It was to be presumed, therefore, that the New England States would second the claims of Vermont; nor was this presumption weakened by any hereditary good will, that had formerly existed between those States and New York.

Unfortunately New Hampshire, for the reasons above stated, had been induced to deviate from the line of her neighbors, under the apprehension that her interests were in jeopardy. She was indeed meditating ambitious projects of her own, and forming a design to defeat the pretensions of Vermont, by extending her jurisdiction as far as Lake Champlain, and drawing the whole territory within her limits. She thus placed herself in rivalry with New York, in hostility to Vermont, and at variance with the other adjoining States.

Taking these considerations into view, and the known enmity of the New York members, General Allen's prospects of carrying back a satisfactory report to his friends were faint and discouraging. The southern delegates were indifferent, or only adhered to one side or the other as a

means of exerting a party influence. It is doubtless true, also, that several members were conscientiously opposed to any decision by Congress, believing the question not to come within the powers intrusted to that assembly. They argued, that the subject could not rightfully be brought before them in any shape, except in obedience to special instructions from the respective States. Others again denied the power of Congress to interfere at all, affirming that Vermont was in fact independent, and had a right to set up such a scheme of government as she chose. This was a short mode of settling the controversy, but it would hardly satisfy the scruples of New York, or the aspiring hopes of New Hampshire.

On his return from this mission, General Allen presented a report to the legislature of Vermont, containing the result of his observations, in which he gave it as his opinion, "that the New York complaints would never prove of sufficient force in Congress to prevent the establishment of the State of Vermont," and advised the legislature by all means to recede from the union with the sixteen townships, since it could never be approved by Congress without violating the articles of confederation, by which the rights and original extent of each State were guarantied. On this topic he spoke with decision and force.

In addition to the general objects of his mission,

the visit to Congress was not without advantage to himself and his constituents. It made him intimately acquainted with the views of the delegates in Congress, and with the arguments used by various individuals and parties. He ascertained likewise how far policy and individual bias on the one hand, and a regard for the absolute merits of the question on the other, operated in giving a complexion to the national councils.

This knowledge had an important influence on the future proceedings of Vermont. General Allen turned it to an immediate account, and he wrote a treatise vindicating the course hitherto pursued by Vermont, and maintaining the justice of her claim to set up such a form of government, as the people themselves should judge most conducive to their prosperity and happiness.* Mr. Jay said of this book, in writing to a member of Congress when it first appeared, "There is quaintness, impudence, and art in it." He might have added, argument and the evidences of a good cause.

In these unwearied labors for the defence of the rights and dignity of the State, and in superintending its military affairs as commander of the

* The tract was entitled, *A Vindication of the Opposition of the Inhabitants of Vermont to the Government of New York, and of their Right to form an Independent State*. It was published in 1779, by order of the Governor and Council, or with their approbation.

militia, General Allen's time was fully employed. It was at this period, that the British generals in America began to meditate the scheme of bringing Vermont into a union with Canada, by taking advantage of the disputes, which had continued so long and waxed so warm, that it was supposed Vermont had become alienated from Congress and the opposing States, and would be ready to accept tempting overtures from the British. This idea received encouragement from the circumstance, that Congress afforded but a slender defence to the frontiers of Vermont, although the governor of Canada was in condition to make a descent with a force sufficient to bear down any opposition, that could be interposed by the whole strength of the State. The first step was to bring over some of the leaders; and as Ethan Allen was the most conspicuous of these, and also the military chieftain, the attempt was made upon him. That his views might be ascertained on this subject, the following letter was written to him by Beverly Robinson, colonel of a regiment of loyal Americans, or, in other words, refugees adhering to the British cause and embodied in the British army.

New York, March 30th, 1780.

"SIR,

"I am now undertaking a task, which I hope you will receive with the same good intention, that

inclines me to make it. I have often been informed, that you and most of the inhabitants of Vermont are opposed to the wild and chimerical scheme of the Americans, in attempting to separate this continent from Great Britain, and to establish an independent State of their own ; and that you would willingly assist in uniting America again to Great Britain, and restoring that happy constitution we have so wantonly and unadvisedly destroyed. If I have been rightly informed, and these should be your sentiments and inclination, I beg you will communicate to me without reserve whatever proposals you would wish to make to the Commander-in-chief, and I here promise that I will faithfully lay them before him according to your directions, and I flatter myself I can do it to as good effect as any person whatever. I can make no proposals to you until I know your sentiments ; but I think, upon your taking an active part, and embodying the inhabitants of Vermont in favor of the crown of England to act as the Commander-in-chief shall direct, that you may obtain a separate government under the King and constitution of England, and the men be formed into regiments under such officers as you shall recommend, and be on the same footing as all the provincial corps are here.

“I am an American myself, and feel much for the distressed situation my poor country is in

at present, and am anxious to be serviceable toward restoring it to peace, and that mild and good government we have lost. I have therefore ventured to address myself to you on this subject, and I hope you will see it in a proper light, and be as candid with me. I am inclinable to think that one reason why this unnatural war has continued so long is, that all the Americans, who wish and think it would be for the interest of this country to have a constitutional and equitable connexion with Great Britain, do not communicate their sentiments to each other so often and so freely as they ought to do.

“In case you should disapprove of my hinting these things to you, and do not choose to make any proposals to government, I hope you will not suffer any insult to be offered to the bearer of this letter ; but allow him to return in safety, as I can assure you he is entirely ignorant of its contents ; but if you should think it proper to send proposals to me, to be laid before the Commander-in-chief, I do now give you my word, that, if they are not accepted, or complied with by him, of which I will inform you, the matter shall be buried in oblivion between us. I will only add, that if you should think proper to send a friend of your own here, with proposals to the general, he shall be protected and well treated here, and allowed to return whenever he pleases.

I can add nothing further at present, but my best wishes for the restoration of the peace and happiness of America.

I am, &c.

“BEVERLY ROBINSON.”

This letter, artful and plausible as it was, made no impression upon the patriotism of Ethan Allen. Although written in February it was not received till July. He immediately sent back the messenger, and in confidence communicated the letter to the governor and a few other friends, who all agreed with him, that it was best to pass it over in silence. That they might not be outdone, however, in the allowable stratagems of war, they be-thought themselves to turn to a profitable purpose this advance on the part of the enemy. The British were expected soon to appear on Lake Champlain in great force, and it was a thing of essential importance in the present difficult condition of Vermont, to ward off the impending danger. Several prisoners from this State were now in Canada, and it was advised that the governor should write to the commander in Canada, proposing a cartel for an exchange. A letter was accordingly despatched with a flag. The object was to produce delay, and by a finesse to lead the enemy to pursue their ideas of drawing Vermont over to their interest. While this should be fostered, it was not probable they would attack the people, whom they wished to conciliate.

No answer was returned, till the enemy's fleet was seen coming up the Lake in a formidable attitude, spreading an alarm far and wide, and apparently threatening an immediate invasion. Many persons took their arms and marched to the frontier. But no hostile acts were committed. The commander on board the fleet sent a flag to General Allen, with a letter to the governor of Vermont, assenting on the part of General Haldimand, commander-in-chief of the British army in Canada, to the proposal for an exchange of prisoners, and offering a truce with Vermont till the cartel should be arranged.

This preliminary negotiation of a truce was conducted by General Allen. In defining the extent of territory, which the truce should cover, he included all the settlements as far west as the Hudson River. To this extension the British officer objected, as not being within the bounds of Vermont. Such an arrangement would moreover prevent the expedition up the Lake from acquiring honor, or attaining any ostensible object ; whereas, if not hampered with the truce, it might act with some effect on the frontiers of New York. This was a strong motive for insisting, that the truce should be confined strictly within the limits of Vermont, but as General Allen was unyielding, the officer gave way, and it was definitively settled as reaching to Hudson's River.

This was a dictate of sound policy, as appeared in the subsequent history of Vermont. It had a conciliatory effect upon the inhabitants of that part of New York included in the truce. Their antipathy was disarmed, and at one time they even courted a union with Vermont.

As this was a secret arrangement, and not then made known publicly, the people were surprised to see the fleet retreating down the Lake, and the military disbanded and going home. Commissioners were appointed by the governor of Vermont to meet others from Canada, and settle the terms of a cartel. The season was so far advanced, however, that they were obstructed in their voyage across the Lake by the ice, and obliged to return. Nothing was done during the winter. The advantage thus far gained by Vermont was, that a campaign of the enemy on her borders had been rendered ineffectual. As a compensation, the British supposed they had made good progress in detaching from Congress the affections of a discontented province, and winning them over to the King.

As these transactions were well known to the enemy in New York, Colonel Robinson was concerned not to have received an answer to his letter. Thinking it might have miscarried, although he had sent a duplicate and triplicate, or assuming such a supposition as a pretence for

writing again, he despatched a second letter to Ethan Allen, dated February 2d, 1781. In this was enclosed a fourth copy of the first, and it contained the following paragraph.

“The frequent accounts we have had for three months past, from your part of the country, confirms me in the opinion I had of your inclination to join the King’s cause, and assist in restoring America to her former peaceable and happy constitution. This induces me to make another trial in sending this to you, especially as I can now write with more authority, and assure you that you may obtain the terms mentioned in the above letter, provided you and the people of Vermont take an active part with us. I beg to have an answer to this as soon as possible, and that you will, if it is your intention, point out some method of carrying on a correspondence for the future; also in what manner you can be most serviceable to government, either by acting with the northern army, or to meet and join an army from hence. I should be glad if you would give me every information, that may be useful to the Commander in-chief here.”

Shortly after receiving this second epistle, General Allen sent them both to the Continental Congress, accompanied by one of his own, in which he expressed in very emphatical language his sentiments in regard to the interests of Ver-

mont, and the unjustifiable attempts of the adjoining States to abridge her rights and even destroy her existence. Having explained the mode in which the letters came into his hands, and mentioned his having shown the first to Governor Chittenden and other gentlemen, he proceeds as follows.

“ The result, after mature deliberation, and considering the extreme circumstances of the State, was, to take no further notice of the matter. The reasons for such a procedure are very obvious to the people of this State, when they consider that Congress have previously claimed an exclusive right of arbitrating on the existence of Vermont, as a separate government ; New York, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts Bay at the same time claiming this territory, either in whole or in part, and exerting their influence to make schisms among her citizens, thereby, in a considerable degree weakening this government, and exposing its inhabitants to the incursion of the British troops, and their savage allies from the province of Quebec. It seems those governments, regardless of Vermont’s contiguous situation to Canada, do not consider that their northern frontiers have been secured by her, nor the merit of this State in a long and hazardous war ; but have flattered themselves with the expectation, that this State could not fail (with their help) to be des-

olated by a foreign enemy, and that their exorbitant claims and avaricious designs may at some future period take place in this district of country.

“I am confident that Congress will not dispute my sincere attachment to the cause of my country, though I do not hesitate to say, I am fully grounded in opinion, that Vermont has an indubitable right to agree on terms of a cessation of hostilities with Great Britain, provided the United States persist in rejecting her application for a union with them; for Vermont, of all people, would be the most miserable, were she obliged to defend the independence of the united claiming States, and they, at the same time, at full liberty to overturn and ruin the independence of Vermont. I am persuaded, when Congress consider the circumstances of this State, they will be the more surprised, that I have transmitted to them the enclosed letters, than that I have kept them in custody so long; for I am as resolutely determined to defend the independence of Vermont, as Congress are that of the United States; and rather than fail, I will retire with hardy Green Mountain Boys into the desolate caverns of the mountains, and wage war with human nature at large.’”

The concluding words of this paragraph may be considered as characteristic of the writer; but

the sentiments expressed in the letter, respecting the allegiance due from Vermont to the United States, were unquestionably entertained by all the principal men of that State. Independence was their first and determined purpose ; and, while they were neglected by Congress, and, like another Poland, threatened with a triple partition between the adjoining States, they felt at liberty to pursue any course, that would secure their safety, and conduct them towards their ultimate object. It was on this principle, that they encouraged advances to be made by the British, and not that they ever had the remotest intention of deserting the cause of their country, or submitting in any manner to the jurisdiction of the English government.

While the war continued, however, these negotiations with the enemy were carried on with much address, and so successfully as to prevent any further hostilities from Canada. A correspondence was kept up, which was known only to a few persons, and was chiefly managed by Ethan Allen and his brother Ira Allen. Messengers came to them secretly with letters, and waited in concealment till consultations were held, and answers prepared, with which they returned to Canada. This was a slow process, but it served to amuse the enemy, and keep their hopes alive. While this could be done, Vermont was safe from

attack, and had only to apprehend the artifices of those, who were striving by the weapons of the civil power to annihilate her freedom.

The English ministry had at one time sanguine expectations from the prospect of affairs in this quarter. I have seen two letters from Lord George Germain to Sir Henry Clinton, one written in February and the other in June, 1781, wherein the minister congratulates the commander-in-chief on the happy return of the people of Vermont to their allegiance, and represents it as an important event. He adds, that, should Washington and the French meditate an irruption into Canada, they would find in Vermont an insurmountable barrier to their attempts; and also that General Haldimand would undoubtedly send a body of troops to act in conjunction with the people, secure the avenues through the country, and, when the season should admit, take possession of the upper parts of the Hudson and Connecticut Rivers, and cut off the communication between Albany and the Mohawk country. Again he observes, that, should the people of Vermont be menaced by a detachment from Washington's army, General Haldimand would have forces ready to throw in among them, by which they would be relieved from any fears of the resentment of Congress, and see it to be their wisest and safest course to return to their loyalty.

Such were the vagaries of Lord George Germain in his office at Whitehall, even within a few months of the capitulation at Yorktown. And in truth they present a very just specimen of the strange reveries, surprising ignorance, or wilful blindness of that minister, in regard to American affairs, during the whole war.

General Allen was not entirely occupied with the duties of his military station. At the next election after his return from captivity, he was chosen a representative to the Assembly of his State. How long he continued in public life as a legislator, or how long he retained the active command of the militia, I have not been able to ascertain. When peace was restored, however, he seems to have resumed his agricultural habits, and devoted himself to his private affairs. He was a practical farmer, accustomed to labor with his own hands, and submit to the privations and hardships, which necessarily attend the condition of pioneers in a new country.

In this retirement he published a work on a series of topics very different from those, which had heretofore employed his pen.* He says in

* The book is entitled, *Reason the only Oracle of Man, or a Compendious System of Natural Religion*. It was published at Bennington, in the year 1784. The preface is dated July 2d, 1782.

the Preface, that he had been from his youth addicted to contemplation, and had from time to time committed his thoughts to paper. This book purports to be the result of his lucubrations, revised, arranged, and prepared with much labor for the press. In its literary execution it is much superior to any of his other writings, and was evidently elaborated with great patience of thought and care in the composition. It is nevertheless a crude and worthless performance, in which truth and error, reason and sophistry, knowledge and ignorance, ingenuity and presumption, are mingled together in a chaos, which the author denominates a system. Some of the chapters on natural religion, the being and attributes of God, and the principles and obligations of morality, should perhaps be excepted from this sweeping remark; for, although they contain little that is new, yet they are written in a tone, and express sentiments, which may screen them from so heavy a censure.

Founding religion on the attributes of the Deity and the nature of things, as interpreted by reason, the author takes it for granted, that there is no necessity for a revelation, and thence infers, that the Christian Revelation and miracles are false; and he argues against the Old Testament upon the same principles. Historical facts and internal evidence, the only basis of

correct reasoning on this subject, are passed over in silence. There is no proof that the author ever examined them. It must be allowed, however, that he mistook some of the errors of Christian sects for the true doctrines of revealed religion, and that his views, as to the reality and nature of the system itself, were perverted by this misapprehension.

If we may judge, also, from various passages in this book, some of his biographers have not done him strict justice in regard to his religious opinions. They have affirmed, that he believed in the metempsychosis of the ancients, or the transmigration of souls after death into beasts, or fishes, and that "he often informed his friends, that he himself expected to live again in the form of a large white horse." If he was absurd and frivolous enough to say such a thing in conversation, he has certainly expressed very different sentiments in his writings. No person could declare more explicitly his belief in a future state of rewards and punishments, and a just retribution, than he has done in the following passages contained in this book.

"We should so far divest ourselves," he observes, "of the incumbrances of this world, which are too apt to engross our attention, as to acquire a consistent system of the knowledge of our duty, and make it our constant endeavor in life to act

conformably to it. The knowledge of the being, perfections, creation, and providence of God, and the immortality of our souls, is the foundation of our religion." Again, "As true as mankind now exist and are endowed with reason and understanding, and have the power of agency and proficiency in moral good and evil, so true it is, that they must be ultimately rewarded or punished according to their respective merits or demerits; and it is as true as this world exists, and rational and accountable beings inhabit it, that the distribution of justice therein is partial, unequal, and uncertain; and it is consequently as true as that there is a God, that there must be a future state of existence, in which the disorder, injustice, oppression, and viciousness, which are acted and transacted by mankind in this life, shall be righteously adjusted, and the delinquents suitably punished."

To what extent these doctrines bear out the charge of a belief in the transmigration of souls, let the reader judge.

After the publication of the above work, I have not found recorded any events in the life of Ethan Allen, which are sufficiently important to be commemorated; unless it be the circumstance of his having been solicited, by Shays and his associates, to take command of the insurgents in Massachusetts. He rejected the proposal with disdain, sending back the messengers who brought it, with

a reprimand for their presumption, and at the same time writing a letter to the governor of Massachusetts, in which he expressed his abhorrence of the insurrection, and assured the governor that his influence should be used to prevent any of its agents and abettors from receiving countenance or taking refuge in Vermont. This was conformable to all his previous conduct ; for, notwithstanding the scenes of turbulence in which he was often engaged, it should be remembered to his honor, that he was ever, in theory and practice, a firm supporter of civil government when founded in equity and the rights of the people. So rigid was he in his patriotism, that, when it was discovered that one of his brothers had avowed Tory principles, and been guilty of a correspondence with the enemy, he entered a public complaint against him in his own name and petitioned the court to confiscate his property in obedience to the laws of the State.

Before the end of the war, General Allen removed from Bennington, which had long been his place of residence. He was next for a short time an inhabitant of Arlington, afterwards of Sunderland, and finally he settled himself in the vicinity of Onion River, where he and his brothers had purchased large tracts of land. He was twice married. His second wife, and children by both marriages, survived him. Through life

he possessed a robust constitution, and uncommonly good health ; but his career was suddenly terminated by an apoplexy, at Burlington, in the year 1789.

We have thus sketched the principal incidents in the life of a man, who holds a place of some notoriety in the history of his times. His character was strongly marked, both by its excellences and defects ; but it may safely be said, that the latter were attributable more to circumstances beyond his control, than to any original obliquity of his mind or heart. The want of early education, and the habits acquired by his pursuits in a rude and uncultivated state of society, were obstacles to his attainment of some of the higher and better qualities, which were not to be overcome. A roughness of manners and coarseness of language, a presumptuous way of reasoning upon all subjects, and his religious skepticism, may be traced to these sources. Faults of this stamp, and others akin to them, admit of no defence, though, when viewed in connexion with their causes, they may have claims to a charitable judgment. Had his understanding been weak, his temperament less ardent, his disposition less inquisitive, and his desire of honorable distinction less eager, the world would probably never have heard of his faults ; the shield of insignificance would have covered them ; but it was his destiny to be con-

spicuous, without the art to conceal or culture to soften his foibles.

Yet there is much to admire in the character of Ethan Allen. He was brave, generous, and frank, true to his friends, true to his country, consistent and unyielding in his purposes, seeking at all times to promote the best interests of mankind, a lover of social harmony, and a determined foe to the artifices of injustice and the encroachments of power. Few have suffered more in the cause of freedom, few have borne their sufferings with a firmer constancy or a loftier spirit. His courage, even when apparently approaching to rashness, was calm and deliberate. No man probably ever possessed this attribute in a more remarkable degree. He was eccentric and ambitious, but these weaknesses, if such they were, never betrayed him into acts dishonorable, unworthy, or selfish. His enemies never had cause to question his magnanimity, nor his friends to regret confidence misplaced or expectations disappointed. He was kind and benevolent, humane and placable. In short, whatever may have been his peculiarities, or however these may have diminished the weight of his influence and the value of his public services, it must be allowed, that he was a man of very considerable importance in the sphere of his activity, and that to no individual among her patriot founders is the State

of Vermont more indebted for the basis of her free institutions, and the achievement of her independence, than to **ETHAN ALLEN**.

LIFE
OF
WILLIAM ELLERY
BY
EDWARD T. CHANNING

WILLIAM ELLERY.

CHAPTER I.

His Birth, early Years, Marriage and Profession.

THERE are men, who exercise an important influence within a limited sphere. in a thousand nameless ways, and, it may be, without a distinct consciousness of it, on their own part, or that of others, who pass out of life with not one strong result, one striking manifestation of their minds to make them of public importance. The most that can be said of them is, that some "invisible virtue" was communicated by them to others, imparting, perhaps, a healthy action to the minds of the young, or encouraging useful enterprises, or finding its way to the abodes of the humble, erring, and weak, to inspire them with prudence and self-respect, and a sense of justice and decency, and thus gradually giving a tone to manners and opinions in the neighborhood. Events may call them to important public stations, and connect

them with the history of their country ; but they remain precisely the same men. Their sphere is, indeed, wider and more conspicuous than before ; their objects are larger, and more force is evolved ; but the men and their influence are unchanged. Vanity cannot unsettle their estimate of themselves. Ambition cannot mislead them to undertake offices, which they know do not belong to them. Conspicuous actions are still to be performed, and dizzy heights to be held, by others ; while to them is left the more obscure, but imperishable power of character, wisdom, and faithful diligence. It is of a man like these, that some notices are here offered.

Mr. Ellery's information respecting his paternal ancestors, and the time and circumstances of their leaving the mother country, was very limited, though he had given some attention to the subject. The first of the name in New England, it is believed, arrived a little after the middle of the seventeenth century ; and, towards the close, we find one branch of the family in Bristol, Rhode Island. His father, William Ellery, was born there, October 31st, 1701, and graduated at Harvard College in 1722. He was afterwards a wealthy merchant of Newport, and seems to have enjoyed the confidence of the people, as he was elected to the offices of Judge, Assistant, and Deputy-Governor. His piety, and attachment to

civil and religious liberty, and his many private virtues, are commemorated in a still legible epitaph in Latin.* He died March 15th, 1764, leaving several children.

WILLIAM, his second son, was born in Newport, December 22d, 1727, and, with his elder brother, was entered at Harvard College, probably in 1743. Little is known of his college life besides the frolics and jests in which he had his full share, and which he used to relate in a most diverting style. His love of the Latin classics was no doubt formed at the College. His never-ceasing attention to them, and to the nicest points in the grammar and prosody of the language, is no slight indication of early taste and habits. And whatever defects there may have been in the former modes of teaching at that seminary, it is not disputed, that there was a diligent instruction of young men in the ancient tongues. It may seem premature to speak, in this connexion, of what was most observable in his literary preferences of after life; but we have reason to think, that these

* This inscription was written by President Stiles of Yale College, for many years a clergyman in Newport. It was submitted to the revision of Dr. William Kneeland, of Cambridge, and Mr. James Lovell, of Boston; whose letters on the subject are somewhat curious, as specimens of what might now be deemed the elegant pedantry of our fathers

were established at an early period ; and that even then, Horace was his favorite among the Roman poets, and that in English literature he inclined strongly to the writers of Queen Anne's time. Though this may have been partly owing to accident, or the fashion of the day, yet there seemed to be an almost natural direction of his mind towards writers who abounded in wit, in strong sense closely and pointedly expressed, and in observation of mankind. It was a taste that he never lost ; but it did not interfere with his liberal study and admiration of English and Latin literature generally, nor of the French, to which his attention was drawn later in life.

His residence at Cambridge was important to him in more than a literary point of view. He was received into the excellent society of the place, where he became attached to the lady whom he afterwards married, and intimate with the family of Judge Trowbridge, her near connexion. The scenes of his early studies and first affection grew dearer to him with his years, whether as the witnesses of his blessings or afflictions. There are but few events in one's domestic history more beautiful, more memorable, than his annual visits to this his second home, till he had passed his eightieth year. It was not merely a return to his literary haunts and the friends of his youth, to be welcomed to the boundless hospitality of the

times. The sources of interest were multiplied and deepened. A married daughter resided there. With some of his descendants he could recall his early days at the College. And, as we shall presently see, the place was further endeared to him by sorrow.

He took his first degree in 1747 ; and he loved the College ever afterwards with the feelings of an English scholar for his Alma Mater. The recollection of his room-mate, many years after their separation, draws from him a warm expression of old college attachment. In a letter to Mr. Andrew Oliver, of Salem, in 1771, he says ; “ I have already about fifty subscribers to the proposals you sent me for the publication of your *Essay on Comets*, and hope to procure more. It would give me great pleasure to encourage genius in any gentleman ; especially in a gentleman with whom I once had the happiness to be intimately connected. This alone would have been a sufficient inducement to me to promote the subscription ; but when to this is added the request of my old *chum*, the thought of obliging *him* lays me under a necessity to do it.”

From Cambridge, Mr. Ellery returned to his native town, to settle himself for life ; and, probably, he entered soon upon business as a merchant, the favorite pursuit of his family. Newport, at that time, was a wealthy commercial capital, and

a place of frequent resort for strangers, not merely for its delightful climate and rural and ocean scenery, but also for its liberal, and, perhaps, too luxurious hospitality. Down to the revolution, it offered every encouragement to a young man entering on business, to say nothing of its attractions to one of a social temper. In October, 1750, Mr. Ellery was married to Ann Remington, of Cambridge, daughter of Jonathan Remington, one of the Justices of the Superior Court of Massachusetts. The connexion was deemed imprudent by his father, in one so young, who had yet to make his way in the world; but the coolness that followed was removed upon the birth of a grandchild; and the wife, who seems to have been first received to his affection for the child's sake, became, by her kindness and good sense, his pride and comfort till death. She was an excellent woman, prudent, affable, and hospitable, ever watchful over her children, and careful that her husband should find no place so agreeable to him as his home.

An anecdote of his married life is remembered, which, in one respect, is illustrative of the kind of social habits of the day, and of more importance as concerns his own character and happiness. It was his custom to spend his evenings with a party of young friends at some place of convivial resort; and it is enough to say of their amusements, that

they were any thing but intellectual, and just suited to make one's home the last place he would look to for his pleasures, and, of course, the very place where duty itself must soon become irksome. It was an essential part of domestic economy at that time, for the matron to note upon the margin or blank leaves of her almanac, any of the memorable occurrences in the daily experience of the household. One day his wife had recorded, as its most precious event, and with expressions of tenderness and gratitude, that her husband had passed the evening with her and her children. This, not many days after, fell under his eye ; but he said not a word. If there was any upbraiding, it was all from his own heart. The same evening, he returned to his usual haunt, and at once announced to his friends that he had come to take his parting cup with them, and that, hereafter, he should seek his evening pleasures at home. Some disbelieved, others scoffed ; — could this be true of a man of his gayety and spirit ? But their surprise and boisterous ridicule he was prepared for, and, true to his purpose and word, he left them, and was ever after a thoroughly domestic man. And such was the effect of his resolution upon them, that, in no long time, the party was broken up, and succeeded by pleasant meetings in each other's families.

He often told this little incident, as if it had

deeply moved him. He had connected it indissolubly with a beloved wife, whom he too early lost ; and, when he spoke of it, there was a tremulousness upon his lip, and a placidness of expression, which denoted his never-ceasing gratitude and love. Fifty years after her death, he says of her, "You read, in the grave-yard in Cambridge, the epitaph of your grandmother, a woman dear to me and to all who were acquainted with her. Alas ! I was too early deprived of her society ; and it was not a single arrow that pierced my heart. In the same year, my father was taken away." She died in Cambridge, September 7th, 1764, at the age of thirty-nine ; and her husband returned to his home and children a sorely stricken and bowed-down man.

Mr. Ellery used, in later life, to speak of himself as having turned his attention to many pursuits, and, with the usual event, of doing very well in none. For several years after his marriage, he was engaged, to some extent, in merchandise, and, during part of the time, he was naval officer of the Colony. He gave up his first line of business in the time of embarrassing revenue acts and of non-importation agreements, when there was little or nothing for him to do, but to join, heart and hand, as he did, with the "Sons of Liberty." On the possible advantages of a life of various employments, as preparing one for

widely differing stations, and discovering some hidden powers, it would not be advisable to speculate, while speaking of a man whose urgent advice was to keep to a single business, and learn to love it and seek distinction in it, and whose own habits inclined more and more with his years to steady, systematic application.

A passage from one of his letters, of so recent date as 1818, shows that he early formed a taste for gardening, the favorite occupation and amusement of his later years. "I wish you to inquire for, and procure an ear or two of Canadian corn, of some of your gentlemen-farmers who may have planted it. I will plant it the next season. The improvements that are making in your large and rich State, in agriculture and horticulture, and in the breed of various species of beasts, will not only be very advantageous to it, but may be so to our poor little State. I was among the first who followed the example, that was set before us by some European gardeners, who were imported into this town when I was a young married man ; and, in consequence of our rival exertions, ten times as great a quantity of vegetables was raised upon the same quantity of ground annually, as had ever been raised before. What is it that somebody said, in commendation of him, who should make two spires of grass grow where only one grew before ? "

In 1767, Mr. Ellery was married a second time and in 1770 he began the practice of the law. Nothing is known of his preparatory studies for the new profession, nor of the amount of practical skill he may have acquired from serving as clerk of one of the courts during the two preceding years. It is clear that he thought modestly of his qualifications; for, in 1771, he writes thus to Henry Marchant, then in London, who had left his legal business in charge of Mr. Ellery. "If I had time, I would let you know what happened at the Superior Court; let it suffice you, that your friend stood forth and pleaded two causes successfully, alone, and assisted in three others. Bravo, say you; I say, Bravissimo." And, not long after, in consulting his eminent legal friends in Cambridge upon some involved case, he writes; "With regard to most of the questions, I am pretty well satisfied; but, as they respect a matter of considerable importance, I would not choose to give my advice without first consulting some person learned in the law, and hearing his opinion." Though not a man of extravagant expectations, he yet had great alacrity of spirits, and was not given to despondency in any view of things; so that we can easily conceive of him in the gloomy state of public affairs, and the doubtful promise of his own, as entering with all his might upon a wholly new course of life, and as awakened to a new sense of his powers by the pressure of public danger

His letter-books at this period show that he was in considerable practice, and that he received business from gentlemen in several of the other Colonies as well as from his neighbors. This correspondence is not confined to professional topics ; a place is found for private and political concerns, and for exceedingly characteristic reflections upon any matter that happened to draw his attention.

One cause, in which he was employed, deserves a little notice, as it shows how deeply he had entered into the all-engrossing question of liberty, and how thoroughly the spirit of revolution had wrought itself into his most responsible judgments.

An action had been brought before the court at Providence, by David Hill, against gentlemen of the New York Committee of Inspection, to recover damages for goods of Hill's, which had been burnt, and for which he held the committee responsible. Mr. Ellery was retained in the defence by several of them, and two or three passages in his letters will give a pretty clear view of the case and the advocate.

September 27th, 1771, he says ; " With regard to the suit brought against you and the other gentlemen of the late Committee of Inspection at New York, I would observe, that if you can prove, by disinterested witnesses, that you told Hill, that you did not order nor command him to store his goods, and that you did not take charge of them,

but only believed they would be quite safe in Platt's house till the opinion of the committee was known (agreeably to what you write me), I think it will be impossible that Hill should ever recover a judgment against you. And, indeed, if you had actually ordered the goods to be stored; considering the situation of our public affairs, the necessity which there then seemed to be that non-importation agreements should be entered into, in order to effect a repeal, if possible, of an oppressive act, laying duties on certain articles of commerce; considering that non-importation agreements were almost universal through the Colonies, and that Hill carried goods into New York (knowing that, at that very time, there subsisted such an agreement among the merchants of your city,) with mercenary views, and attempted to violate resolves entered into for the common benefit; considering these and many other things which might be offered, he deserved, in my opinion, to lose his goods, and I believe a jury will think so; however illegal it may be to force a man's goods from him, by means whereof they might be burned." "You may depend upon my exerting myself in your behalf, in this suit particularly; for the cause of liberty is a cause which I always have had close at heart, and I once had the honor to be of a committee of the Sons of Liberty in this place."

The plaintiff recovered, however, both in the lower court and on the appeal; but Mr. Ellery ascribes his failure to any thing but a bad cause. "It would have given me great pleasure," he says to his clients (April, 1772), "to have succeeded in this cause, particularly, because it is in some sort the cause of liberty; and if it had been tried while the spirit of freedom was vigorous in every part of the community, even at Providence, we had come off triumphantly."

Though his exertions and trouble in this suit had been great, and so acknowledged, there was yet some misunderstanding about his compensation. In another letter, a few months after, he details his services and claims, and closes with some vivacity.

"That you should think I was to expect only this sum from you," said he, "and charge liberty with my extra trouble, was more than surprising to me; it was really shocking. The cause of liberty, however unsuccessful her advocates may have been, or however rewarded, is still a glorious cause; a cause which I originally engaged in from no pecuniary views, but from principles, the seeds of which are implanted in all human kind; the love of society and the love of country. I rejoice that I had a share, however small it might be, in the repeal of the Stamp Act. The non-importation agreement I wished well to, because

I imagined it would have demolished the revenue acts, by which our trade is restricted and embarrassed. And I have reason to think it would have fully answered that purpose, if it had been adhered to only six months longer. I am very sorry that any gentlemen, who were concerned in that agreement, should be sufferers thereby; especially I lament, that any of the Committee of Inspection of New York should suffer by an unjust judgment in this Colony; and, if it will give you, Sir, and Messrs. — — any satisfaction under your ill-success, to withdraw my claim to a gratuity for my extra trouble, I will readily do it, and am your and their assured friend and humble servant."

It was said before, that this series of business letters was of a very mixed character; and though it may interrupt what little of narrative there is in this memoir, yet one or two extracts may be inserted here, if they serve no other purpose than to show his manner of thinking and writing in middle life. They are taken from two letters to his old friend, William Redwood, then residing in Philadelphia; and, in these, as in his later correspondence, we may see how freely he follows out any present train of thought, and falls into any form of speech that offers itself. He never had the faintest shade of affectation. He might be reserved, where it was proper; but, with his friends, he was a cordial, plain-spoken man.

February 11th, 1773. "I had determined, before I took up my pen, not to have said a word on this sorrowful subject, lest I might thereby open and cause those wounds to bleed afresh, which the lenient hand of time might have begun to close; but friendship for you and your children hath constrained me to express some ideas, which have arisen in my mind, to utter some portion of my grief, and to mingle my tears with yours on this melancholy occasion.

"I can and do sincerely sympathize with you, for I have myself passed through some of the severest scenes of affliction. Amidst those scenes I had all the comfort which the advice, condolence, and wishes of my friends could impart. It was not small, and I thanked them for it. But tears are a debt we owe to departed friends. They are a debt to nature; and 'a debt to nature is a debt to God.' It ought to be, it must be paid; and they will flow, till time dispels those clouds which feed them, and dries up every source of grief.

"We are not, however, to abandon ourselves to sorrow. In such melancholy seasons, we are to avoid solitude, mix with the company of our friends, engage in business, or pursue some innocent amusement. Otherwise, we may, perhaps, while we are paying the tribute which friendship demands, pay the great debt which we ourselves

owe to nature. Last Friday, old P—— H—— discharged that debt, and this afternoon I shal. attend his funeral. To-morrow, I may be, perhaps, as joyful as ever, be engaged in company or in business, in discharging or collecting debts of a different kind from those before mentioned ; I may be collecting some for you. How strange is our state ! how incongruous is man ! ”

The following passage from a letter written in his ninetieth year, on a similar occasion, may be read in connexion with that we have just quoted.

“ Nothing new can be alleged to improved minds, in the way of consolation, under the afflicting dispensations of a merciful and beneficent Providence. Such know, that God doth not willingly afflict, that those he loves he chastens ; that, to those who seek his protection and support, he will grant that protection and support, which the nearest and dearest friends cannot give ; that he, who hath formed us for society, and established the relationships and connexions of human life, hath so constituted us, that, when we are bereaved of relatives, we must lament, and those with whom we are connected ought to participate in our grief, and endeavor to alleviate it. But it would be vain to attempt to stop its current, as vain as it would be to attempt to stop the flowing tide. The mind is employed almost entirely with reflections on the happiness it has lost, and thinks but little, if

at all, of the happiness which the object of its bereavement has gained. If this were duly considered, would it not go far to lighten the oppressed heart? It certainly would, says reason; but few there are that reason, or can reason amidst the deep gloom of grief. To use a scripture expression, the light shineth in the darkness, but the darkness comprehendeth it not."

We return to the series of letters of an early date, to give one more passage, which bears somewhat on the times.

"*November 14th, 1773.* But I cannot bid you adieu in this solemn manner. *Totus mundus agit histrionem.* The famous Jacob Bates hath lately exhibited here his most surprising feats of horsemanship, in a circus or enclosure of about one hundred and twenty feet in diameter, erected at the east end of Mr. Honyman's field. The number of spectators was from three to seven hundred. He exhibited four times, and took half a dollar for a ticket. A mountebank doctor, who lately came into America from some part of Europe (Great Britain, I believe), and who is expected here, is now haranguing daily, from a wagon, to the good gaping people of Connecticut, and, while they are gaping, he is picking their pockets. Strolling players we have had among us. I expect that, in a few years, Drury Lane and Sadler's Wells, &c., will be translated into America

“I wish, while we are encouraging the importation of the amusements, follies, and vices of Great Britain, America would encourage the introduction of her virtues, if she have any; for I am sure, by thus countenancing her follies and vices, we shall lose the little stock of virtue that is left among us. This I am very clear in, that exhibitions of players, rope-dancers, and mountebanks (I must confess, indeed, there is something manly and generous in the exhibitions of Mr. Bates; for a well-formed man, and a well-shaped, well-limbed, well-sized horse, are fine figures, and in his manage are displayed amazing strength, resolution, and activity,) have a more effectual tendency, by disembowelling the purse, and enfeebling the mind, to sap the foundations of patriotism and public virtue, than any of the yet practised efforts of a despotic ministry.* But it will be in vain to talk against these things, while there are a hundred fools to one wise man.”

* Our old Congress took the same view of this matter. Mr. Ellery was absent, however, on a visit to his family, at the time the following Resolutions passed that body. They remind one of the religious and republican rigors during the civil wars of England. “*October 12th, 1778.* Whereas true religion and good morals are the only solid foundations of public liberty and happiness; Resolved, that it be, and it hereby is, earnestly recommended to the several States to take the most effectual measures for the encouragement thereof, and for the suppressing of theatrical entertainments, horse-racing,

CHAPTER II.

Mr. Ellery is elected to Congress. — Signs the Declaration of Independence. — His Services in the Old Congress. — Extracts from his Diary. — His Character as a Public Man.

FROM nothing that has yet been said, could we gather that Mr. Ellery, in general estimation, was one of the foremost men in the Colony, or be led to expect, that, in a most critical period of the revolution, he would be charged with a great public trust. He had held no political or judicial office, and, probably, had not been distinguished as a jurist or merchant. But he was known to the people for his firmness, and good sense, and devotion to the public cause. And his sense of the worth of freedom could be the more relied on,

gaming, and such other diversions as are productive of idleness, dissipation, and a general depravity of principles and manners."

"October 16th, 1778. Whereas frequenting play-houses and theatrical entertainments has a fatal tendency to divert the minds of the people from a due attention to the means necessary for the defence of their country and the preservation of their liberties; Resolved, that any person holding an office under the United States, who shall act, promote, encourage, or attend such plays, shall be deemed unworthy to hold such office, and shall be accordingly dismissed."

as it did not spring from eager sympathy with the sudden excitements of the day, but from principles which his experience and reflection had prudently developed and confirmed. It was a deep-seated passion, and a moral preference. To forward political liberty was, in his view, to follow every individual to his own home and heart with a blessing. The social state was to be sustained and amended, by interesting every man in the good of the whole as his own private good; and his country was to be the object of affection, as the protected sphere of an individual's usefulness, honor, and peace.

According to his own strong language at the time, he placed his obligations to uphold liberty, as high as those that bound him to his wife and children. Still he was no dreamer about men's rights as separated a hair-breadth even from their duties; but he was for placing man where he could best feel and do his duty. From the little that has been already stated, it is plain, that he had shown himself a public-hearted man in the first struggles of his countrymen against encroachments upon the rights of the colonies. He had been upon important committees, whose business was to procure the repeal of oppressive revenue acts, and was acquainted with active spirits in other colonies, who were preparing themselves and the people for a separation from the mother country, if that choice

should alone be left. In short, the plain man of business had inspired a general confidence in his fitness for a high civil trust, let the aspect of affairs be ever so variable and perplexing.

Mr. Ellery appeared, for the first time, as delegate of Rhode Island, in the memorable Congress of 1776. His instructions are dated May 4th of that year. He took his seat on the 14th ; and, with his venerable colleague, Stephen Hopkins, set his name to the Declaration of Independence.

The personal responsibility of this measure was as clear to his mind, as if the hand of the King's officer were already upon him for the treason. But it may be said of him, as truly as of any man, that, however his temper might be softened or his opinions modified by time and religion, he never changed with his condition or duties. He looked at them fully and distinctly ; he knew that he had pledged himself to a great and doubtful question ; and he sustained himself equally, and always moved with a firm and cheerful spirit. He placed himself by the side of Charles Thomson, the Secretary, and observed the expression and manner of each member, as he came up to sign the Declaration. He used to describe this scene with great spirit. Its interest was wholly moral. Nothing could be less indebted to show or ceremony. He looked on intently, and with a feeling that the men were equal to the crisis.

Mr. Ellery was in Congress from 1776 to 1786, with the exception of the years 1780 and 1782. In one point of view, the station of a delegate might seem, in itself, of no inconsiderable dignity and weight ; for while, in the revolt of a single city or nation, power would most likely fall into the hands of one or a few leaders, to whom all other agents would be strictly subordinate, the members of our revolutionary Congress were representatives of distinct sovereignties, and no one acknowledged a superior. Still, the points of their official weakness were numerous, so that, without personal address and influence, a delegate would be of very little consideration ; and there were so many ways of exercising talent and influence, which could find no place in the history of the times, that his most meritorious services might often attract no attention.

For instance, besides advising and coöperating with his associates, he must be powerful at home, in order to bring his own State to a hearty support of the recommendations of Congress. It might be his task to contend with petty jealousies, narrow views, and political rivals among his constituents ; and if he carried his point, still no fame could attach to this almost domestic agency. A trust like his required him to be fit for various business, both within the House and out of it ; and he was not to think a moment of himself or his

celebrity, if he could but sustain a great, though laboring cause, and its all-provident and sorely tried leader.

The journals of Congress bear testimony to Mr. Ellery's constant employment upon some of the most important committees, and in a great variety of business; but here, too, it is often difficult to ascertain his views or services. The debates are not reported. We may read his motions, his votes, his appointments on committees and their reports; and from the kind of subjects given in charge to him, we may sometimes infer what opinion was entertained of his capacity for public business. But we must be often ignorant whether he took a leading part in regard to measures, with which his name is connected; and sometimes, where it is known that he did, his merits could not be understood, without entering more largely than would be proper here into historical details; as in the instance of the questions relating to the New Hampshire Grants, and to the recognition of that territory as a State, in which he was distinguished for his exertions in behalf of the claims of Vermont.

It will be sufficient to name one or two of the more important committees of which he was a member, and which of themselves might have given him full employment; and, as nothing is known now in relation to his services upon these,

beyond what the journals testify, perhaps even this meagre enumeration might have been spared, and the reader left to infer his public course of action from what is known of the man, the times, and the body to which he belonged.

Not long after his first election to Congress, October 11th, 1776, we find him placed upon the Marine Committee. As he came from a commercial State, whose waters and capital were for a time subjected to the enemy, and always of importance to our own resources and operations, it was to be expected that our naval affairs would be brought under his particular notice, and his attention appears to have been directed to them for a large part of the time he was in Congress. Three years afterwards, October 28th, 1779, upon a report of the Marine Committee respecting the Navy Department, a Board of Admiralty was established to superintend the naval and marine affairs of the United States, to consist of three Commissioners, not members of Congress, and two members of Congress. Mr. Ellery was elected to this Board, December 8th, 1779, and it was at the same time resolved, that all matters heretofore referred to the Marine Committee, be transmitted to the Board of Admiralty. June 23d, 1780, he was elected a Commissioner of this Board; his term as delegate having recently expired.

By a resolution of Congress, January 30th,

1777, a standing committee of five members was appointed to hear and determine upon appeals brought against sentences passed on libels in the Courts of Admiralty in the respective States; and Messrs. Wilson, Serjeant, Ellery, Chase, and Sherman were chosen. It is needless to dwell upon the necessity of such a jurisdiction somewhere, or the difficulty of arranging a system, that would inspire confidence abroad, and yet not alarm the jealousy of the several States. These, and other points, are considered in a report by a committee of three, of which Mr. Ellery was one, March 6th, 1779.

The part he took in relation to a memorial of certain inhabitants of Bermuda is of little public importance, but appears to be somewhat illustrative of his character. Those islanders were suffering deeply from want of provisions, for which they seem to have depended upon the revolted colonies; and to these they now came, though politically estranged, to implore relief. On the 23d of April, 1779, Mr. Ellery, as chairman of a committee to whom their memorial had been referred, reported a state of facts, and their opinion "that, so long as Bermuda shall continue to be guarded by British ships and garrisoned by British soldiers, how powerfully soever humanity may plead in their behalf, and the disposition of Congress incline them to relieve the distresses of Ber-

muda, yet sound policy and the duty they owe to their constituents, will constrain them to refuse a compliance with the request of the memorialists." The sympathies of Congress were strongly with the islanders, and, upon the question to agree to the report, the States were divided.

Mr. Ellery was a thoroughly kind-hearted man, but, in the combat of feeling with duty, he sought to give the victory to the right side, and he was always slow to revise a carefully formed opinion. The memorial was recommitted to the same gentlemen, who reported, May 7th, "that, from a reconsideration of the deplorable circumstances of those unhappy persons who are deprived, as it hath been represented to your committee, of the means of supplying themselves with bread, which are allowed to other inhabitants who openly profess their attachment to the enemies of these States, they are of opinion" that it be recommended to certain States, which are named, to permit the exportation of corn to those Islands. Mr. Ellery did not agree with the other gentlemen of the committee in this report; for, upon a substitute being moved by Mr. Burke, and seconded by Mr. Morris, "that the memorialists be informed, that Congress deem it highly inexpedient to grant the prayer of their memorial," he voted for the substitute, which was adopted by nine States, and afterwards passed as a resolution.

For reasons before stated, it would not be worth while to insert further particulars from the journals, which would give but equally imperfect information as those already mentioned. It may not be deemed improper, however, to offer an abridged account of the proceedings in relation to a matter of some moment to the Rhode Island delegation, and which engaged a good deal of the attention of Congress. It would be gratifying to know, from full reports, what Mr. Ellery urged in defence of himself and his colleague.

May 13th, 1784, a controversy about the right of the Rhode Island delegates to their seats arose upon a Report of the Committee of Qualifications, which stated that they were elected on the first Wednesday of May, 1783; that the law of the State required the delegates to be chosen annually on the first Wednesday of May; that an act of that State, passed in 1777, empowered its delegates to represent the State in Congress until they should have due notice of their reëlection, or until delegates, appointed in their room, should take their seats in Congress, the act directing the election of delegates for one year to the contrary notwithstanding; that none of the present delegates took their seats until the 30th of June, 1783, and that by the fifth of the Articles of Confederation it is agreed, "that delegates shall be annually appointed, in such manner as the legislature

of each State shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November in every year." Whereupon the committee were of opinion, "First, that no State has a right to empower its delegates to sit in Congress more than one year, under one appointment; and, secondly, that the year for which the said delegates of Rhode Island were appointed, had expired." On the question to agree to the first clause, it was resolved unanimously in the affirmative. The question on the second clause was lost, four States in the affirmative, two in the negative, and three divided. Mr. Ellery, it seems, contended, that the act of 1777 gave him a right, under the Confederation, to sit after a year from the time of his election had expired, so that he did not exceed the term of a year after first taking his seat in Congress.

The subject was kept before Congress, in the form of objections to the Rhode Island members' speaking, voting, &c., till the 24th of May, when the delegates of Virginia and South Carolina submitted a long statement of their views of the matter, in which they protest against the right of Mr. Ellery, and Mr. Howell, his colleague, to vote till their competency to act is declared by an affirmative vote of Congress. "Still, however," they say, "reduced, by the perseverance of Mr. Ellery and Mr. Howell, to the alternative of stopping the business of the United States at a very

critical moment, or proceeding to act with them, they have judged it most advisable to prefer the latter; under a determination, on all questions where the interest of the Union at large, or that of the States they represent, may be materially affected, to have it stated by the yeas and nays, the manner in which they are carried; saving to themselves, and to the States they represent, the right they may have to invalidate all acts passed in Congress, wherein the voices of Mr. Ellery and Mr. Howell are deciding on the question."

They further protest against "such acquiescence in the conduct of those gentlemen, which they deem to be irregular and unjustifiable," being considered as a precedent; and conclude with a resolution, to the effect, that when any State shall object to the credentials of a person claiming to be a member, such credentials shall be submitted to the Committee of Qualifications, who shall report a state of facts merely; and seven States agreeing that the credentials are sufficient, the claim shall be good; and if seven States shall not so agree, he shall not be permitted to sit in Congress.

Mr. Howell immediately made a motion, seconded by Mr. Ellery, that the consideration of the foregoing motion be postponed in order to take up the following; "Whereas, the question on the report of the Committee of Qualifications, on the credentials of the delegates of Rhode Island, was

taken and lost on the 15th instant ; and whereas, since that period, the said delegates have been continually called to order, and have not been permitted to speak or vote in Congress without interruption from some members ; Resolved, that after delegates shall have been received as members into Congress on sufficient credentials for one year, such delegates, so admitted, shall not be excluded the House, but by the voices of seven States." The question to postpone was lost, as was the question to agree to the resolution of the delegates of Virginia and South Carolina ; so the members from Rhode Island retained their seats without further molestation.

One would not have supposed, that our old legislators could find time to talk about a mere point of style. The following anecdote, however, was recalled to Mr. Ellery in 1818, by some remarks upon the Life of Patrick Henry. " I was in Congress with Mr. —, of Virginia. He undertook to ridicule New England composition, because it abounded in monosyllables. I asked him whether the motions and reports of the New England delegates were not intelligible. He said yes, but they did not sound well. Soon after, he was of a committee of which I was one, and as he was the first chosen, he draughted the report. He cautiously avoided monosyllables, and the report consisted of sonorous, sesquipedalian words,

without a connecting particle. After Secretary Thomson had read it, I stepped to him and asked him whether he understood the report? 'No; it consists of a number of long, sounding words, without any connecting ones to show its signification.' I believe the Virginians are getting into a more simple style."

Mr. Ellery was in the habit of keeping a minute diary of his journeys to and from Congress. Five of these, for three successive years, remain, and abound in particulars as to roads, distances, taverns, innholders, fare, expenses, the private houses where he had a right to claim hospitality, or at which he was compelled to seek it; and moreover one would think that every conversation he held, everybody he met, every incident that befell him, was here recorded. One or two of them have accounts appended, between him as delegate, and the State of Rhode Island, which might startle a reader who was unacquainted with the state of the currency in those days. His journeys were on horseback; and a few extracts from one of these diaries will give some idea of the travels of a member of Congress in former times.*

* The Diary is entitled, "Journey from Dighton, in Massachusetts Bay, to York, in the State of Pennsylvania, begun October 20th, 1777, and concluded November 5th." He travelled in company with his son-in-law. Mr. Dana, delegate from Massachusetts.

“ *October 24th.* The weather was lowering, and that, and the prospect of hearing something of the Newport Expedition, detained us at Judge Potter’s, (South Kingston.) This day, had a confirmation of the glorious news of the surrendry of the Colonel of the Queen’s Light Dragoons, [Burgoyne,] with his whole army. Learn hence, proud mortals, the ignominious end of the vain boaster. Gave a spur to S. by lettier.”

“ *November 1st.* We spent the Sabbath at Hartford. In the afternoon heard Mr. Strong preach a good sermon; and most melodious singing. The psalmody was performed in all its parts, and softness, more than loudness, seemed to be the aim of the performers. In the evening, waited upon Governor Trumbull, and was pleased to find so much quickness of apprehension in so old a gentleman. Connecticut has collected and ordered taxes to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds more than she had issued. Brave spirits!

“ *November 3d.* To Litchfield, where we lodged with General Wolcott, and were kindly entertained. He had lately returned from the northern army, where he commanded a number (three hundred, I think,) of volunteers, which he had collected by his influence. He gave us an account of the surrendry of “the menacing meteor, which, after a most portentous glare, had evaporated into

smoke,"* and gave it as his opinion, that the army under General Gates, at the time of the capitulation, did not exceed twelve thousand men

"*November 5th.* We intended, when we left Litchfield, to have gone to Peekskill, and there to have crossed the North River; but when we got to Danbury, were dissuaded from it by the person at whose house we breakfasted, who told us that there were tories and horse-stealers on that road. This account, and it being so late in the forenoon that it was impossible to reach Peekskill by night, and not being able to procure a lodging in Danbury, occasioned us to take the Fishkill route. Accordingly we set off, baited at the foot of Quaker Hill, about seven miles, and reached Colonel Ludinton's, eight miles from the foregoing stage, at night. Here, *mens meminisse horret!* we were told by our landlady (the Colonel was gone to New Windsor), that there was a guard on the road between Fishkill and Peekskill, that one of the guard had been killed, about six miles off, and that a man, not long before, had been shot at on the road to Fishkill, not more than three miles from their house, and that a guard had been placed there for some time past, and had been dismissed only three days.

"We were now in a doleful pickle, not a male

* "See Governor Livingston's Speech to the Assembly, in a Fishkill paper."

in the nouse but F. D., his man, and W. E., and no lodging for the first and last, but in a lower room, without any shutters to the windows or locks to the doors. What was to be done? What could be done? In the first place, we fortified our stomachs with beef-steak and some strong drink, and then went to work to fortify ourselves against an attack. F. D. asked whether there were any guns in the house. Two were produced; one of them in good order. Nails were fixed over the windows, the gun placed in a corner of the room, a pistol under each of our pillows, and the hanger against the bed-post. Thus accoutred and prepared at all points, our heroes went to bed. Whether F. D. slept a wink or not, W. E. cannot say; for he was so overcome with fatigue, and his animal spirits were so solaced with the beef, &c., that every trace of fear was utterly erased from his imagination, and he slept soundly from evening till morning.

“It rained and snowed through the next day. We continued at Ludinton’s until the afternoon; when, (Nov. 6th,) the fire-wood being gone, we mounted, and set off for Adriance’s. Just as we mounted, it began to snow; however, we pushed on, and soon reached that stage, (it being but five miles,) in tolerable order. We were ushered into a room, where there was a good fire, drank a dish of tea, and were entertained during great part of

the evening with the music of the spinning-wheel and wool-cards, and the sound of the shoemaker's hammer; for Adriance had his shoemaker's bench, his wife her great wheel, and their girl her wool-cards, in the room where we sat. This might be disagreeable to your delicate macaroni gentry; but, by elevating our voices a little, we could, and did keep up conversation amidst the music; and the reflection on the advantages resulting from manufactures, joined to the good nature of our landlord and his wife, made the evening pass off very agreeably. Indeed, if the house of Adriance was more convenient than it is, I could enjoy myself there, as well as at Johnston's in Bethlehem.

“*November 7th.* Breakfasted at Adriance's, and set off for Fishkill, where we arrived at noon. Could get no provender for our horses but at the continental stables. Waited upon General Putnam, who was packing up, and just about setting off for White Plains. Chatted with him awhile, and then put off for the continental ferry at the North River. In our way to the ferry, we met President Hancock, in a sulky, escorted by one of his secretaries, and two or three other gentlemen, and one light-horseman. This escort surprised us, as it seemed inadequate to the purpose either of defence or parade. But our surprise was not of long continuance; for we had not rode far, before we met six or eight light-horsemen on

the canter, and, just as we reached the ferry, a boat arrived with as many more. These, with the light-horsemen and the gentlemen before mentioned, made up the escort of Mr. President Hancock. Who would not be a great man? I verily believe that the President, as he passes through the country thus escorted, feels a more triumphant satisfaction than the Colonel of the Queen's Regiment of Light Dragoons, attended by his whole army, and an escort of a thousand militia.

“November 10th. Crossed the Delaware with General Fermoy, without making ourselves known to him. From Easton, we rode in the rain to Bethlehem, for the sake of good accommodation, and were visited by Mr. Ettwein, one of the ministers of the Moravian Society, who had been so kind as to show me the public buildings when I was at Bethlehem the last June. When Congress were here in their way to York, they ordered that the house of the single women should not be occupied by the soldiery, or in any way put to the use of the army; and that as little disturbance as possible should be given to this peaceful society; which Mr. Ettwein took notice of with great gratitude. A number of sick and wounded were here, a considerable quantity of baggage, and guards; and a number of light-horse were at Nazareth, feeding on the hay and grain of the society; this I found was disagreeable to them,

but at the same time perceived that they did not choose to complain much, lest their complaints should be thought to proceed not so much from their sufferings, as from a dislike to the American cause. This people, like the Quakers, are principled against bearing arms; but are unlike them in this respect, they are not against paying such taxes as government may order them to pay for carrying on the war.

“*November 12th.* Rode to Levan’s where we lodged. The forepart of this day was filled with snow squalls, which proved peculiarly irksome to Mr. Dana’s servant, whose surtout was stolen from him the evening before, at Johnston’s, by some soldier. The afternoon was comfortable, but the evening was windy, and exceeding cold. The room in which we sat and lodged admitted the cold air at a thousand chinks, and our narrow bed had on it only a thin rug and one sheet. We went to bed almost completely dressed, but even that would not do. It was so cold that I could not sleep. Our fellow-lodgers suffered as much as we did; and, if they had read Tristram Shandy’s chapter of curses, and had remembered it, would have cursed our landlady through his whole catalogue of curses. What added to the infamously of this tavern, was the extreme squalidity of the rooms, beds, and every thing.

“*November 13th.* Met Mr. Samuel Adams

and Mr. John Adams about nine miles from Levan's and hard by a tavern. They turned back to the inn, where we chatted, and ate bread and butter together. They were, to my great sorrow, bound home. I could not but lament that Congress should be without their counsels, and myself without their conversation.

"November 14th. Crossed the Schuylkill, dined near the town of Ephrata, and lodged at Letidz, a little Moravian settlement. We lodged in clover. We slept in cabins about three feet wide. A straw-bed was at the bottom, a feather-bed on that, sheets, a thin, soft feather-bed supplied the place of blankets, and a neat calico coverlet covered all; and our lodging-room was kept warm during the night by a neat earthen stove, which in form resembled a case of drawers.

"November 15th. Crossed Anderson's Ferry and in the afternoon reached Yorktown, and so finished our journey of four hundred and fifty miles."

But it is time to return to Mr. Ellery's character as a public man. To insist upon the estimation in which he was held by able men in Congress, as a claim to present respect, might betray some distrust of his merits, or a weak desire to obtain for him a traditional reputation, when positive instances of his public services could not be adduced. It is true, nevertheless, that strong

testimony was borne to the useful part he acted, by those who were fittest to judge. He had their confidence, for the same prudent, straightforward, practical view of affairs, and for the same consistent, independent, decided conduct, which would be the first things to speak of, in a general view of his mind and character. He was perfectly intelligible in word and deed ; and hence the very man to be trusted at all times, even by those who did not act with him. If men followed or avoided him, it was not from any false view they had taken, but for some distinct reasons which he, in all honesty, had given them.

Besides the respect and confidence, which his abilities and character obtained, his social spirit and powers of conversation, the wit, pleasantry, and good-humored satire, which could enliven a party of friends at their lodgings, or sweep away the fallacies and whims of members in a debate, brought him into delightful intimacy with leading men of the country, whom he met for the first time in Congress. There were times, even in the sittings of that body, when illuminating wit or confounding ridicule was needed to repress arrogance, or come in aid of sound but powerless argument ; and on one occasion of the kind an eminent delegate from Massachusetts expressed his regret most emphatically, that Mr. Ellery was not there to take the business into his hands.

The men and the times furnished him with stores of anecdotes, often as full of wisdom as of mirth, which he afterwards made free use of in conversation, and thus agreeably acquainted his young friends with less observed, but material points in the history of the period, and the habits and characters of our statesmen. These recollections we shall not venture to set down.

He was much annoyed by diffidence, in his early attempts to speak in Congress, and was always free to tell of his embarrassment and failures. When he was once congratulated upon having said the very thing, and in just the way it should be stated, he was able indeed to conceal his surprise, but never had it been greater ; for it seemed to him, that, while he was up, he had known nothing, and, as might be expected, he had sat down very little satisfied with himself. But he was determined not to yield a particle to weakness or awkwardness ; and in time he became, not indeed an orator, but an easy and useful debater, and always had something to say to the purpose, when he felt himself called upon.

His connexion with our Independence, and his public services in general, seem never to have dwelt much upon his mind. He was indifferent, one would have supposed, to the distinction which the mere act of signing the Declaration has been thought to confer ; and as to putting forth any

claims to consideration, he could not understand the thing. Upon some allusion having been made by a correspondent, to one who had publicly vindicated his claim to be among the signers, he replied; "My name is there, and I believe in every list that has been printed. If it had not been inserted in any of them, I question whether I should have taken the same pains to establish the fact, as he has done. I should have left it to others, I believe, to prove it."

Again, in 1819, he writes; "Tell Mr. William S. Shaw, that I thank him for the volume* he sent me. It brought to my mind transactions, *quorum pars minima fui*, and which deserved to be recorded. But I do not thank him for entertaining an opinion of me, so far above my merit. It is too late for me to write memoirs of my own times, times which tried men's souls, times in which Mr. Adams took an active part, and whose publications respecting them are now and ever will be honorable to him."

It is not known whether any of his private or official letters from Congress remain. He says, 1815, "You have discovered a large bundle of letters, written by me to your father [from Congress]. Have mercy upon them. I was a whig

* "Novanglus and Massachusettensis; together with Mr. John Adams's Letters to Mr. Tudor"

then. Now I am called a tory. They must not be shown to any one. I am afraid they are full of fire.* I am glad to find, that, having passed through many fiery trials, I am now happy in my tranquil apartment with but little of the inflammability, which my whiggism excited; but still a staunch friend to political liberty, and that liberty with which the Gospel has made us free."

* These letters were afterwards destroyed, in consequence of his request to his friends, that none of his correspondence should be preserved. In the general destruction of his own papers at the same period, it is not known how the letter-books and journals used in this memoir, escaped

CHAPTER III.

Withdraws Himself from Public Life.—His Writings.—His Opinions on various Topics.—Habits in his declining Years.—His Death.—Remarks on his Character.

MR. ELLERY left Congress and public life for ever, at the close of 1785. In common with others, he had suffered losses during the war. His dwelling-house had been burnt by the enemy, and his family driven into the interior. The resources of a profitable profession had been cut off, and the current of trade and wealth turned from his native town. And at the age of nearly sixty, he had yet to provide for his children, and, under circumstances almost disheartening, to begin life again as a man of business.

In April, 1786, he was elected by Congress Commissioner of the Continental Loan-Office for the State of Rhode Island; and, upon the adoption of the Federal Constitution, 1790, he was appointed Collector of the Customs for the District of Newport. This office he held till his death.

During the period of embarrassment and agitation, arising from a depreciated currency, from opposition to the new Constitution, and sympathy with revolutionary France, he contributed largely

to the journals of the day, without his name, in behalf of order, public faith, and an efficient government. His writings attracted much attention, and, as might be expected, involved him in the party hostilities of the time. He could not well avoid giving offence, but he never allowed himself to be disturbed by the assaults he provoked, and to some extent he had the satisfaction of seeing his object accomplished. For many years before his death he abstained wholly from the press, and from taking any active part in politics; not even attending town meetings. And though he was charged with abusing his influence to put down an administration, that "kept him in office and gave him his bread," or, as it was sometimes said, by whose favor "he had become rich;" yet, in a private memorandum, he says; "To all this and many more lies printed in that paper, Job answered not a word."

It remains to speak of him in his closing years. It may be supposed, that we are entering upon a distinct era, in which, though he may be still recognized, he must yet be materially changed; that his course must be henceforth downward; and that, with the general feeling of tenderness and veneration for the old, we have now only to observe the decay of what we may have admired in its strength. Such an anticipation, with respect to the aged, is so common, as to be thought natural. But, after all that has been written of old age, is

its true value, and the character it may and ought to possess, enough considered? Some speak of a man in years as an object of condescending admiration, that he should have lived so long; and he, in turn, may be pleased with this distinction, and even live the longer for it, as if to protract and augment the honor.

Sometimes, we make old age picturesque, with its wintry snows and reposing apathy. The harvest is ended, the earth is sealed; there is to be no more growth. Or it is a noble pile, time-honored, time-worn, and falling into slow decay. There is to be no more splendor or cheerfulness, no more of life as it has been, within those walls. Or, again, we make old age sentimental. It is passively and gratefully receiving cheerful tendance from the young; it is patiently recounting its experience, and distilling its long-treasured wisdom; and the children are gathered round the bed of the patriarch for his blessing. And are these the best lights and positions in which we may look on those, who are approaching the appointed boundaries of time?

There is yet another view of age, in which it appears as a highly moral and intellectual state of man. It may be granted that the senses have lost much of their quickness; but the imagination, now freed from distracting excitement, is as able and disposed as ever to shape anew the materials they

have supplied, either for its own solace and delight, or for the more beautiful expression of thought and emotion. At the very season when mere animal existence is less a blessing, and the animal spirits have almost ceased to excite and sustain, and passion is no longer to stimulate and crave and be fed, the imagination still lives to animate the purely intellectual exercises, to preserve or restore the early love of natural beauty, to keep the affections warm and old remembrances distinct; and indeed to give the mind much of the light and vivacity of youth.

It is the period of acquisition, as well as of contemplation. A long experience of life has not yet furnished all, nor the best, that can be obtained. Reflection shows that much has been falsely valued, and that the methods of pursuit have often been wrong; so that even a little that is seen and meditated upon in the later day, may be worth more than masses of crude opinions, fancies, and purposes, which occupied the supposed vigor of life. The mind was often stationary then, from the all-surrounding pressure of outward things, which seemed to make it intensely active, because they wholly engrossed it; but now it may be truly said to be advancing by a power from within. The effort is not merely to keep what has been purchased, and not to recede from a point that has been gained. Life is better even now

than a mere resistance of evils. The future is entered upon as offering higher studies, and as a corrector of the past, and with a religious feeling of the importance of the days that remain, as close-bordering on the endless pursuits of another state of action. The temper is softened and spiritualized. Active engagements are still pursued for the good of others, when the motives of self have become feeble. Intimacy with the young is cherished from sympathy with their exuberant spirits, and from a desire to be strengthened by their fresh-growing thoughts, and from a prophetic interest in the life that is before them; an intimacy of perfect equality, except that the aged bend to the young, and give more than they receive. Add to such considerations as these, the blessing of a good nervous system, and health scarcely interrupted or impaired to the end, and some idea may be formed of Mr. Ellery in his closing years.

An imperfect view of his course of life, and the direction of his thoughts during this period, may be had from some passages in his letters. They are taken from a correspondence begun, when he was past eighty, with a young relative, and continued with unabated spirit to the last month of his life.

"*May 6th, 1811.* I feel disposed to gratify your wishes in every respect; but I have not time,

were I capable, to write a *discourse* on old age. The comfort of old age doth not depend upon the refined speculations of Cicero; much less on the stern, unaccommodating, inhuman system of Zeno. It depends, (I wish I could say it by experience,) in one word, upon conformity to the will of God. The means of reaching it, under God, are temperance, moderate exercise in the open air, going to bed and getting up early, sound sleep, and equanimity.

“I do not think, notwithstanding the afflictive dispensations of Providence in the loss of friends, and the diseases and irritability to which old age is frequently subject, that it is so undesirable a condition as some have represented it to be. I speak for myself, and of my present state. What it will be, God only knows. As to employment of time, I have experienced such instruction and delight in reading, and investigating truth, that I mean, as long as my mind is capable of bearing it, to keep it in exercise, and doze as little as possible. Blessed be the man who invented printing. For this important art, I am thankful to that gracious Being from whom all our blessings flow.

“There are, who think that the miseries of life are greater than its joys. I am not one of them. When I consider the numerous objects, which our beneficent Creator has formed, and how nicely they are contrived and adapted to please our senses and

our appetites; the pleasure that may be derived from investigating their internal structure and final causes; the discoveries which natural philosophy has made and is making; the improvements in arts and advances in sciences, and in the philosophy of the mind; the profit and delight which attend reading and social conversation; and compare the sources of pleasure, which kind Providence has furnished, to entertain and instruct us in our pilgrimage, with the miseries of life; as well as my short views of either will admit, it appears to me that the latter are but just enough to constitute this a probationary state, a *palæstra* to prepare us, by the exercise of virtue and piety, for a mode of existence in which they, who act according to the will of God, will enjoy uncontrasted and eternal felicity."

Of his views on many disputed points of theology, perhaps no one can speak with perfect confidence; and to call him by the name of any sect of Christians would probably describe very inadequately his entire, individual belief. He regularly worshipped with Congregationalists, but was never connected with a church. He studied the Bible diligently and reverently, and acquainted himself with the opinions and reasons of hostile theologians. He sought the views, especially, of Christians of any name, whose minds seemed to be under the true influence of religion, or who expressed rather

how they were moved by their own study of divine truth, than how they were instructed or accustomed to believe.

He was a sincere advocate of religious freedom and of a spirit of charity; and felt no uneasiness about controversy, so long as inquiry was left perfectly open, and diversity of opinion was unattended by a defaming, persecuting zeal. "I believe," said he, "if party names were entirely disused, there would be more harmony among Christians. With too many, when a religious treatise is offered to their perusal, the first question is, Who wrote it? and, that answered, the next is, Is the author a Calvinist, an Arminian, Socinian, Arian, &c.? And if the writer be of different sentiments from the person to whom the book is presented, or be branded with an opprobrious name, it is either refused a reading, or read with such prejudice as to render it useless, or worse than useless, to the bigoted reader. I heard a sensible minister of the gospel inveigh, in a sermon, against the *Hopkinsians*, as he called them, in such a bitter manner, that I dare say one half, at least, of his congregation, would have avoided any writing of Dr. Hopkins, as they would a most venomous serpent. And yet I don't in the least doubt that this same minister, if he had heard the first Episcopal clergyman in Newport declare from the pulpit, that the breath of a Dissenter was infectious, would have severely reprobated it."

No more particular statement need be made of his political sentiments, than that he was a whig of the Revolution, and a federalist of Washington's times. A passage may be inserted to show what he thought of Napoleon, at a period (1812) when, even in this country, his course was regarded with very differing opinions and hopes.

"Notwithstanding the encouraging account Lord Cathcart has given, I should not be surprised to hear that Bonaparte was in possession of Petersburg. The superiority he has over the Russians, both in the number of his soldiers and the skill of his officers, will, I am afraid, overcome their obstinate resistance to his progress. I wish I may be mistaken, and that Heaven may put a hook in his jaws and draw him back, confounded with disgrace, and the overthrow of his immense army. How long this dreadful scourge will be suffered to lay waste and destroy, the Lord only knoweth. It is matter of consolation, and even of joy, that the Lord reigneth."

Again, in 1814. "The important news from France has excited in me high exultation. But while I rejoice, I cannot but feel some anxiety about the event of the last struggle for empire the Leviathan will make. The conflict must be violent on which such vast events depend. He must either preserve his dominion, or submit to such terms as the victorious allies shall please to

grant him. What an alternative for a creature whose ambition is insatiable! I feel such indignation against this monster, that I could almost say; *Satia teipsum sanguine quem sitisti*. But it would be more Christian-like to contemplate the amazing events, which Providence in a few years has produced, and to leave vengeance to that Being whose offspring we all are, to whom vengeance belongs, and who is as merciful as he is just, than to judge others or indulge a spirit of revenge."

He had a religious abhorrence of war, and indeed an aversion to fierce contentions of all kinds. He cherished this feeling and expressed it, and observed, with great interest, the efforts that were making in his later days for the abolition of wars. "Peace and liberty," said he, "are the great objects of my delight. Such a reformation in the morals of the nations as will put an end to war, appears to me to be distant. Eighteen hundred years have passed away since the birth of Jesus, and still it seems that two thirds of our race are, and have been long, involved in the grossest idolatry, superstition, and stupidity; and what length of time it will take, according to experience, to eradicate bad habits and plant and establish good ones, may be worth considering. However gradual may be the growth of Christian knowledge and moral reformation, yet, unless it be begun,

unless the seeds are planted, there can be no tree of knowledge, and, of course, no fruit. The attempt to Christianize the heathen world, and to produce peace on earth and good-will towards men, is humane, Christian, and sublime; and, if persevered in, will, I don't doubt, in due time be successful."

Mr. Ellery, as Chairman of a Committee of Congress, (October, 1783,) reported the following resolution in honor of his fellow-citizen, General Greene; "That two pieces of the field ordnance taken from the British army at the Cowpens, Augusta, or Eutaw, be presented by the Commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States to Major-General Greene, as a public testimonial of the wisdom, fortitude, and military skill, which distinguished his command in the Southern department," &c., with a memorandum to be engraved thereon to the effect of the resolution. In 1813, another of his fellow-citizens and a townsman achieved a memorable naval victory; and Mr. Ellery expressed but the universal feeling, when he said, "Captain Perry's exploit on Lake Erie is glorious." But neither pride in his native State, nor gratitude for the services of warriors, could reconcile him to the modern style of applauding military prowess and skill. Had age and retirement, and love of peace, made him view such things differently from what he had done as a

public man in 1783? Or was there a simplicity in the honors he had offered to Greene, at variance with our later methods of distinguishing warlike exploits?

"I don't like," said he, "puffing, boasting, swelling language, inflated and towering encomiums; nor hanging many swords about our brave navy officers. It would make them look too much like French *petits maîtres*, with a dozen watches and their glittering chains suspended about them. The Greeks and Romans did not so honor their heroes. It did not require numerous committees to invent new decorations for the illustrious achievements of their gallant officers. Their honorary badges, though simple, uniform, and cheap, were as great a stimulus to ambition, and as highly valued by victors, as any that modern refinement has invented. It would indeed seem, that in our large towns the contest is, which of them shall excel in costly exhibitions of applause; which excites a silly emulation among them, and I should think would be to a warrior of laudable ambition, rather an object of ridicule than an incentive to glory. To provide for the support of those, who are disabled in fighting for their country, and for the families of those who fall in battle, is humane and beneficent, and therefore ought to be the principal object in making collections on account of victories obtained; but it

seems in some places that what is collected is to be expended first in honoring the hero, and the remainder in the beneficent manner mentioned. The republican spirit with which we set out is, in every respect, almost entirely lost in imitating the refinements, the fashions, of the old countries in Europe."

After receiving some account of a distinguished foreigner, who was residing here, he says; "I never had the pleasure of being in company with him. I recollect to have read, in Mr. Walsh's Review, the piece you say he wrote. I should like to hear him talk. His love of children enunciates a softness of heart. His love of flowers does not indicate a fine taste, although it be not incompatible with it. I know some girls, who are very fond of plants, whose taste is not highly refined. Perhaps he views them with a philosophic eye. But how he can reconcile his inattention to dress with that attention, (if I may be allowed the expression,) which nature has manifested in the formation and decoration of flowers, I don't know. There is something naturally or affectedly singular in many men of genius; and some philosophers, as well as poets, have shown an offensive disregard to their personal appearance. Perhaps, by contrasting a slovenly exterior with the exact order of their superior faculties and endowments of mind, they think to exalt our opinion of the latter.

They reverse the description which, according to Milton, Adam gave of Eve; 'in outward show elaborate, of inward, less exact.'"

A few passages are added, relating wholly to his employments. "I should have answered your letter sooner, but I have been much engaged in fitting out a hired revenue cutter, on her second cruise, and in contracting for the building of a permanent cutter here for this station. Besides this and some official business, I have this winter read two vast volumes, containing sermons of Isaac Barrow; also Stewart's Philosophical Essays, and some light pieces. The first work treats its subjects in the fullest and most comprehensive manner, and I do not regret the time I spent in reading it. The Philosophical Essays require almost too much attention for my old head, but they please me. I am about to read Calvin's Institutes. I think I can read books of theology without being over-influenced by names. What appears to me to be right I shall embrace, and reject the chaff and stubble."

"I wish my eyes would admit my writing or reading in the evening; but I am thankful that they still will allow me to write or read in the day-time without much difficulty. In the evening I take my post as usual in the southwest corner of the parlor, while N. occupies the northwest angle, sometimes working, sometimes read-

ing. We seldom see company in that part of our day, so that I have abundant time for reflecting on what has passed the preceding part of the day, and on what is to be done the next, &c. &c.; and for recollecting and reflecting on the past scenes of my life. Many of them were highly pleasing, and by frequently calling them up, my conception of them continues still vivid, and I cherish the remembrance of them with great delight. I wish they were all of this color."

"I wish I were not compelled to write so many official letters; I then could write oftener and with less interruption to my friends. I wish your office were as frequently visited by clients as my house is by applicants of various sorts, and for various purposes; and that I could hear their hardships and complaints with your patience. I get rid of them as well as I can; and commonly, when they find fault with the laws, I refer them to the Legislature; and if I can convince them, that I am governed by the laws, without censuring those who made them, I think myself well off. A Collector's office is a very troublesome one, and if it did not furnish me and my children with the necessaries of life, I would resign it at once."

"I have business enough to take up much of my time; the rest I give to reading. Indeed, my almost only idle time, if the time of sleep can be called so, is in bed. To that I repair about

nine, and leave it about five. So goes away my time; but not without thoughts of my existence, when time shall be swallowed up by eternity.

Vive et floresce."

Thus uniform and serene was his life; cheerful, employed, and heaven-directed. If home is the natural retreat of age, he did not seek it for indolent repose, and because he abhorred the public walk. He had the faculty of making himself happy within doors. He would keep there through the winter, if it were severe; and with his books near him he would read and talk without any flagging of spirits; and when the spring came, he would recommence his slow walks abroad, looking just the same as when he had shut himself up. In the summer clouds, the ocean, the country, the soft air, and his little garden, he seemed to find increase of delight. The opening of the year was delicious to him; and with it came the words of Milton to Hartlib, as if they were a part of the season itself, or at least of his own ever-returning sensation. "In those vernal seasons of the year, when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullenness against nature not to go out and see her riches, and partake in her rejoicing with Heaven and earth." His regular and simple habits, his moderate exercise when the days were pleasant, and his prudent seclusion in winter, with his never-

failing employments, carried him along from year to year, with little perceptible diminution of vigor, and none of spirits, or memory, or mental force.

Thus it was with him till about eighteen months before his death, when he speaks of suffering at times from "strange rheumatic paroxysms." And from the following passage in a letter, dated March 30th, 1819, he seems to be put on his guard by the warnings of age. "I received the Doctor's letter with his recipe, for which I returned him my hearty thanks; but I have not yet taken any part of the medicine he prescribed. For, although I can easily recommend medicines to others, nothing but pressing necessity can bring me to take them myself; and at present I am tolerably well, and expect that, when the warm weather comes, my health will be restored. March has, as long as I can remember, been a trying month to the bodies of men; and the last, although the weather has been variable, has yet been unusually cold. I have been particularly careful of myself, and mean to be so the whole of the spring. But there is no fence or guard that can secure us against the infirmities of old age. They must come, and it is our duty to bear them with patience, and not murmur at the condition on which long life is held."

His letter of January 22d, 1820, the last in the series from which extracts have just been made,

is in the clear, compact hand of his early days, and marked with his usual affection, humor, and attention to minute concerns of himself and of others. He had a little before ordered the purchase of Pascal's "Provincial Letters," with a caution that he wanted only the original; and he now requests, that Fenelon's "Directions for the Conscience of a King" should be sent. He says, however, that the rheumatic affection still afflicts him at times, and that his hands are so feeble that he is obliged to use a little copy of Virgil, from which he cites several verses that bore upon some point of prosody.

On Thursday, February 10th, the pain in his arm suddenly increased, attended with alarming symptoms; and, at the close of the week, his strength was fast sinking. He could no longer read; but a recent publication, about which he felt much curiosity, was read to him on Friday, and he listened with great interest, and spoke of the work the next day. On Monday his clergyman was with him an hour, and, though very feeble, he conversed a great deal, in his usual manner, on various subjects. They spoke of the prospect of death, and he said it was an event which for two years he had been fully prepared for, and even desired. Tuesday morning he rose and partly dressed himself, but was so weak as to be obliged to lie down again immediately. The phy-

sician found his pulse almost gone. Wine was given, and he seemed to revive. The Doctor said, "Your pulse beats very well." "Charmingly," he replied; but it was a last effort of nature. He then lay in silence, except saying once that he knew he was dying, and in two hours he expired, February 15th, 1820, in the ninety-third year of his age.

In person he was of moderate height, with large, well-formed head and features. His countenance was thoughtful and attentive, his utterance slow and impressive, and his step measured and firm. His dress was of the plainest sort, but becoming his years, and just so far conformed to modern style as to show that he was free from eccentricity, and observant of what was passing, and yet sufficiently wedded to old usages not wholly to surrender a regard to comfort. His manners were cordial and delicate, with less of formality than was commonly seen in our ancestors of the highest class.

An attempt has here been made to give some account of one of our public men of the last century. Very little has been insisted upon as constituting the prominent qualities of his character, or the leading principles of his conduct; but, for the most part, the reader has been left to estimate his powers, motives, and general cast of mind, as he would do those of one who, to a certain extent,

had been brought under his own observation. Little has been said of him in his private relations; and there were points in his intellectual character which could not be known clearly but to those who were personally acquainted with him. A few recollections of him are added, as he appeared in advanced age, and which are chiefly illustrative of a studious and contemplative mind, moved and directed by religious principle.

The first thing to be observed is, that his character was not the growth of an originally well-ordered spirit, or of inborn meekness, nor shaped by propitious circumstances in his outward condition. It bore the marks of habitual self-inspection and self-resistance. And, from his own account, this discipline was not very seriously commenced till somewhat late in life. The most signal triumph in this warfare was over pride in all its forms and directions. Humility was the virtue which he seemed to prize as the most comprehensive and most productive. The contest was not chiefly against thinking highly of himself in comparison with others; for he was not accustomed to make such comparisons. His effort was to bring every thought and desire into subjection before God, and to find security and motive in a fixed sense of his deficiencies and his obligations. It is not easy to give an idea of the influence of this constant study of humility. It

was his light and strength. It cleared and simplified the purpose of human life. It gave him more and more the command of his faculties, and the exercise of his affections, and the power of devoting himself to duty. It enabled him to moderate his expectations, to meet events without surprise, and to value what was good to its height. It showed him of how little worth are too many of our favorite objects, how ignorantly we estimate calamities, on what false principles men are commonly pronounced great, and how monstrous is arrogance or oppression in a mortal.

This moral warfare, though strict and unremitted, never threw an air of constraint or austerity upon his intercourse with others, as is sometimes the case with men the most conscientious, but of weak minds or morbid dispositions, who dread the approach of sin the moment they fall into the natural current of their affections. His whole manner was marked with decision, composure, and ease. It seemed as if his spirits were kept elastic by his constant guard over them, and that he became more truly what nature had formed him to be, by what some might call his resistance of nature. His very kindness and gentleness had none of the inertness of mere good temper, but were animated by an active, cherished principle of love, which discriminated its objects and was all alive for the happiness of another. With the ut-

most variety in his familiar conversation, one never felt, that in its transitions, its mirth, its gravity, the tone of his mind was undergoing great changes, and that he was putting off one character to assume another. The elements were mingled and the same spirit prevailed. In the midst of important reflections and occupations, he could amuse himself with a certain perception of the ludicrous, or descend to what passes for levity; and yet the feeling of reverence or seriousness was not lessened in himself or others. Without confounding things, he made no false rule of separating those, which he could not find to be hostile.

As moral motives and restraints increase intellectual power, we may ascribe to these in part his activity of mind to the last day of his long life, as well as the constant employment which he imposed upon himself as a duty. He held himself responsible for the right application of his powers and means for the acquisition of wisdom; taking the word in its widest sense. He did not call one mental exercise an amusement, and another a study, to indicate that one only was useful and involved obligation; but, in the lighter and severer occupations of his life, he sought equally to keep in mind, that he was to do or obtain some good.

In the pursuit of truth, he seemed more anxious for the certainty, than the amount or variety of results. It was no evidence, however, that he thought

he had attained to certainty, because he gave over farther study of a subject. For, though reluctant to leave a point unsettled and own that it was beyond his power, yet he could believe, that, as to himself at least, the bounds of knowledge were set, and thus it became a duty to acquiesce even in ignorance. He was not fond of indulging in conjectures, that he might fill the void where he had in vain looked for satisfying truth; nor was he unhappy because of the uncertainties, which cannot be cleared up in an imperfect state of being.

His method of investigating subjects was to follow them into their minutest particulars and relations; not at all to exercise his ingenuity or amuse a speculative turn of mind, but because it gratified his curiosity; and, moreover, patient examination was necessary for him to arrive at results, which some appear to command by instant inspection; or, at any rate, the strength of his convictions depended upon his seeing the whole ground. He could refine and discriminate without being visionary, or undecided, or taking only partial views; and, if he was fond of particulars, he did not stop at them. There was something almost characteristic in his good judgment, his reasonable way of looking at any subject, and assisting others to find out what they should think and do in any doubtful case. No one after consulting him would say,

How original are his opinions, how shrewd, unexpected, or oracular. It appeared rather as if both parties had been deliberately passing over some familiar ground and recalling their experience, than carefully judging of something wholly new; so calm and well-weighed were his thoughts, and so connected and complete the consideration he gave to the matter.

His feelings, and wishes, and every extraneous or accidental circumstance, were as if they did not exist, in his sober-minded search of truth. Or rather, the very influences, that are most apt to mislead, did but sound the alarm to him to be single-hearted; and his power of discerning was only made the keener, if he had the least apprehension that his examination might be crossed by any thing foreign to the subject before him. Thus, as an adviser, he not only inspired confidence and threw light upon the present question, but indirectly he taught one the true mode of inquiry whenever he should be in doubt. He had the plainest common sense, and the most prudent judgment in common affairs; and not so much from having lived long in the world, as from his right temper of mind and his habit of going far into the reason of things.

Still there was often something in his method of pursuing truth, or defending a position, or treating the opinions of another, which, to one not

well acquainted with him, might argue unfairness or unreasonableness. This was particularly the case when he was amusing himself with the efforts of his antagonist, or seeing how many aspects a subject might have to different minds, especially if disturbed by opposition. He loved, when he found a man easily satisfied with his own views of a subject, to state, in the most innocent manner possible, some difficulties which he had himself encountered, and saw no way to overcome, and probably deemed invincible. Thus a vulgar error, perhaps, or some established phrase or saying, which appeared to him to have no meaning, and yet led others to think that in using it they said and meant a great deal, was unexpectedly brought into suspicion; and topics of a far graver character were seen to have difficulties, which had escaped a careless eye, or a too easy faith. To arrest another's mind suddenly by verbal distinctions or fatal doubts is not commonly thought to be a very amiable mode of manifesting a love of truth; but in him it was exceedingly amusing, and always of service to others. The most vexatious point in his character as a disputant was, that he would not be prevailed upon to say distinctly that he was defeated. But a man is not always convinced because he has no more to say; and some might be rash enough to think that a principle was overthrown, because its advocate had surrendered.

He was, no doubt, thought by many to be a man of strong prejudices, and to take pleasure in differing from others; both from his tenacity, where he had once made up his mind, and from his reluctance to receive what was current, or reprobate what was not, till he had looked into it himself. Many would charge him with holding opinions because he did not condemn them, or of rejecting them when he was only on the search. As soon as one came to understand him and his methods of proceeding, the utmost confidence was felt in the faithfulness of his inquiries, and the sincerity of his convictions. Besides, it was seen, that he did not expect or wish others to adopt opinions as his. On the contrary, while you admired the complacency of his own assurance, you knew that it was only to be gained for yourself by examination as fair and thorough as his; no matter whither your inquiry might lead you. He would not think the worse of you for coming to a different result from himself; and he cared nothing for a man's agreeing with him, unless he saw that he did so from the work, which his own mind had done. How was truth to be helped by the multitude of witnesses repeating each other?

This honesty or fairness of his mind was its great distinction, and an explanation of his character. It was a proof of his moral and intellectual vigor. It was the fruit of a victory in which

we could see what had been resisted. It was a religious principle. It ran through all his studies and experience, restraining him from injustice, and compelling him to condemn injustice; opening the way through ancient errors of whatever kind, and for the admission of light from whatever quarter; and making it absolutely impossible that he should be a partisan or idolater in any thing.

He was not anxious to proclaim his sentiments. He could enjoy them by himself. It was a great point to be satisfied in his own mind, and this was a duty that he and every man owed to himself. It brought serenity, and gave motive and confidence to further research. As the minds of men were so variously constituted, the declaration of his private judgments might be of little moment. It was of far greater importance to put others upon doing what none can do for them; procuring the peace and assurance of an intelligent faith in all things. And as his own mental habits and state were the result of discipline, he was taught forbearance. He knew the difficulties of truth, and the warring principles in man; and if himself immovable, he yet judged not others. For a man of decided character, he was remarkably gentle and unrepining.

His kindness and warmth of affection may be seen in his intercourse with his young connexions.

They were not sent to him to learn wisdom, nor did he court them, and seek to increase his honors by the number of his youthful disciples. There was no outward fascination, and nothing unusual in his modes of life. A plain man in years, living in retirement, and obtruding his wishes and opinions upon no one, drew the young to him as if he were their dependence; and they felt that they owed to him, not only some of their best-remembered seasons of pleasure, but, in no small degree, the direction and coloring of their thoughts.

He was connected with their minds, not as a sage authority to be recalled to sanction an opinion, or as a repository of doctrines from which they were to draw; for in any new train of reflections, which they could not possibly trace to him, his image was likely to be revived, his probable view of the subject to be suggested, his provoking objections, his moderate approval, his pretended misconception, and his sincere interest. He was not their teacher, but their elder companion. He never talked to them about himself, unless the subject or some pertinent story made it unavoidable; and this abstemiousness on a point, where the old are apt to be self-indulgent, was owing to his good taste and his preference of other matter, and not to his being for ever on his guard against the common infirmity of age.

The desire to serve them, though uppermost in his mind, had little or nothing to do with the terms on which they met; and it was so with his paternal love for them, which never interfered with their coming together as equals. Not, however, that there was a treaty or secret understanding, that for the time there was to be no dignity on one side and no deference on the other; but because all thought of form was lost in perfect kindness of feeling, and in the satisfaction of talking freely, and getting all the good and pleasure possible from observing the processes of youthful minds, and listening to the experience and matured judgments of an elder one. And even here it was observable, that, with all his experience and maturity, his conversation was far from being a repetition of some old lesson of life; for his mind was freshly exercised upon the immediate topic, and his thoughts, however ripened, had every mark of recentness.

He had no anxiety to conceal from the young his imperfections and mistakes, and certainly no wish to pass for more than he was worth. This was not the way to make them value truth, or understand human life, or do justice to his opinions or advice. He was without reserve on all points where he thought his experience could do them any good. If they were engaged in studies that were little familiar to him, he would do what

he could to keep company with them, and encourage them to talk about any thing that occupied them, and invite them in their turn to enter with him into his own favorite inquiries, so that nothing should separate them or weaken their intimacy.

He would read the new literary works they praised, however uncongenial they might be with his early and abiding preferences, and sometimes show very little respect to the passages they admired, till it seemed to be growing a matter of serious difference; but it ended with amusing explanations or concessions; and perhaps they had been taught, however roughly, that such was their own way of using those, who differed from them on the all-important questions of taste. His own line of active duties presented little for a letter or conversation, and was accordingly but little spoken of; but their engagements always offered something for inquiry, encouragement, sympathy, or advice; and when he saw any thing to blame, he spoke plainly and earnestly, and suffered no weakness of affection to conceal or impair the force of what he thought it his duty to say. If they neglected his admonitions and disappointed his expectations, his regret was unmingled with selfishness, and his affection unabated. They might need it the more.

The great charm of this familiar intercourse

with him may be found in the naturalness of his character and manners. His society gave one the feeling of home; and when separated from him, a letter or the remembrance of him was like restoring one to his home. All his experience of men, his studies, his sufferings, his settled devotional feeling, his decided tone of sentiment, his deliberate consideration of subjects, and his weight of years, impaired not in the least the frankness, the humor, the simplicity of his conversation, or his power of self-forgetfulness, and of entering heartily into whatever belonged to the present moment.

It will not be thought strange, then, that in his death he should have been mourned more than the young; and that even at this late day, in attempting to speak of him as a public man, the private, domestic interest of former years has so clung to me, that I have felt much more as if I were with him at his fireside, than relating the little that is known of his active life.

THE END.

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